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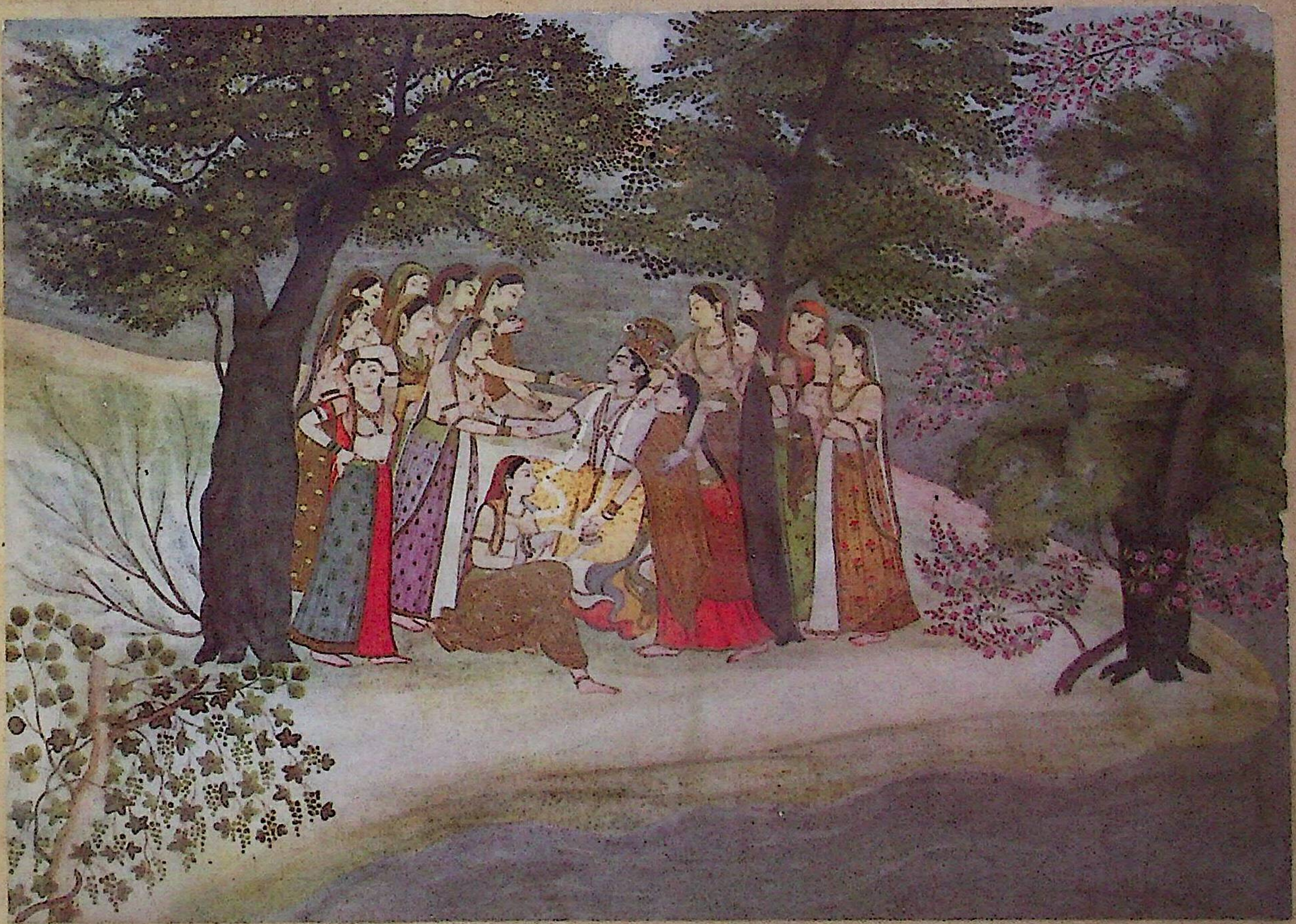
KANGRA PAINTINGS

OF

THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA



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OF

THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

M. S. RANDHAWA, D. Sc., I. C. S.

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Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting
and *Basohli Painting*

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आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

To
W. G. Archer
with deep admiration
for his outstanding contribution to
the study of Kangra Painting

आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

FOREWORD

I have seen with great interest and pleasure the album of Kangra Paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* published by the National Museum of India. This is probably the first art publication of the National Museum and speaks well of its future programme both in respect of reproduction of paintings and the treatment of the subject in the introduction and notes.

The major share of credit for this production goes to M. S. Randhawa. As he tells us in his Preface, he has been a lover of Kangra paintings almost from his childhood. He has undertaken strenuous and at times difficult journeys to visit collections in remote corners of the area. He has found it a still more difficult task to persuade some of the owners to part with the originals even for purposes of reproduction. A native of this region, he has an innate sympathy with the beautiful landscape and the simple people. It is, therefore, not surprising that in his interpretation of the paintings, he reveals a deep kinship of spirit with them.

Randhawa is not merely a man of wide scientific interests but also a lover of art. He has thus interpreted these paintings with both scholarly detachment and artistic sensitiveness. There may be room for difference of opinion with regard to his interpretation on specific points, but I think nobody can question his general evaluation that the Kangra School of Painting grew out of a synthesis of "the Mughal technique of painting, the inspiration of Vaishṇavism, the charm of Sanskrit poetry, the beauty of the people of Kangra Valley and the lovely landscape of the Punjab hills."

This combination of many elements in Kangra painting is not surprising. All genuine works of art are the result of synthesis in which old and new are mingled in an inextricable manner. Exclusiveness and proprietary rights belong only to material things. Things which are spiritual are the common heritage of all who participate, and participation itself adds to the beauty and the wealth of the heritage.

I congratulate the National Museum of India and in particular M. S. Randhawa for a very fine production which will delight art lovers in India and abroad.

Humayun Kabir
Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs

New Delhi
4th March, 1960

आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भरतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

PREFACE

From the roof of my house in village Bodal in Hoshiarpur District in the sub-montane of the Punjab, I often watched with delight and admiration the mighty snow-covered mountain range of the Kangra Valley. Dhauladhar, as it is called, appears with a magical suddenness in the month of January in the northern horizon, and disappears from view at the end of April when it is shrouded in a mantle of dust and haze. Behind the purple-blue Shivalik hills, it looks like a lump of silver, the crown of the Punjab plains, eternal and vast, a monarch of the Outer Himalayas. I decided to have a closer view of the Dhauladhar in its home, the Kangra Valley, the valley of the river Beas and its numerous tributaries. I was fascinated by the mellow beauty of its landscape, low hills and pleasant valleys studded with charming hamlets. Through the terraced emerald green fields of paddy run numerous rivulets with pure ice-cold sparkling water. Contrasting with the feminine beauty of the low hills is the mighty Dhauladhar dominating the Valley. Its snow-covered peaks and fanning glaciers cast a spell on the visitor, and in its alpine pastures and forests peace and silence reign.

It is not only an attractive landscape which makes a country beautiful but also the people. Here in Kangra Valley, coupled with the beauty of the landscape is the beauty of humanity. In the mysterious forests of the Dhauladhar wander the lovely Gaddi maidens, and in the hamlets in the Valley are the shy and graceful Rajput and Brahmin women with their delicate and serene faces decorated with large nose-rings of gold.

In 1924 I joined a college in Lahore and happened to visit the Museum, a monumental building with a vast dome. The Gandhāra Buddhas with their exotic drapery, and the array of antiquated weapons on the walls did not impress me. Just near the entrance was a collection of paintings protected from light by cloth curtains. Domestic scenes from the life of the people in the Punjab hills, women fetching water from the village fountain, travellers having their mid-noon siesta under the shade of a banyan tree, and love scenes of utmost intimacy were shown in these paintings. In some of these paintings were shown princes in dalliance with their sweethearts and admiring dark clouds of the monsoons, and peacocks dancing ecstatically on the roofs of houses. Memories of my village and the Kangra Valley came back to me. In the mornings I often used to watch the peacocks dancing on the roofs of houses in my village. In the faces of the women shown in the paintings I could see the chiselled features of the lovely women of Kangra. Here was an art which was not loud and boisterous, clamouring for attention, but an art, gentle, shy and reserved like the people of Kangra. These were paintings which required close study and careful observation, and the more you looked at them the more you liked them. The Botanical Laboratory of the Government College, Lahore, was close to the Museum, and whenever I could find time I used to go to the Museum to admire the Kangra paintings. This was a routine which I continued up to 1930 when I left the college.

From 1930 to 1950 is a long way off! However, it was in 1950 that I renewed my acquaintance with the Kangra Valley and its paintings. In 1952 I came across W. G. Archer's book, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, which provided clues to the origin of Kangra painting and its major centres. I found it a thought-provoking book, and it posed many problems which awaited solution.

I also made a study of the literature on Kangra painting by the pioneer writer Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. I felt that there were many lacunae in the knowledge regarding Kangra painting and its origin, and some misstatements which I could correct on account of my intimate acquaintance with the Kangra Valley, its people, and its history. Hence, I decided to collect information from the descendants of the Rajas of Kangra, Guler and Nurpur and their ministers and priests. Many new collections of paintings were discovered and acquired for the Punjab Museum. Information of great value about the artists was obtained from their living descendants who are still carrying on the ancient tradition of painting, though in a decadent form.

Archer's album on *Kangra Painting* published in 1952 stimulated a good deal of interest in this school of painting among art lovers all over the world. A request was received by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India from the Embassy in Washington that they should produce a book on Kangra painting. The Publications Division gave this assignment to me. I undertook another tour of the Kangra Valley and met the owners of private collections, the Rajas and their Wazirs in their homes in the Valley, and was able to persuade them to lend their precious paintings for reproduction. What an effort it involved in travel and persuasion is hard to describe to people who are not familiar with the hobby of picture collection and picture hunting, a pursuit which requires diplomatic skill of a high order apart from aesthetic sensibility. The physical effort involved in journeys by jeep, on horse-back and on foot in remote and inaccessible places in the Valley by itself required considerable grit and stamina. The paintings from the collections of the Rajas along with a selection from the paintings of the Punjab Museum, Simla, which the Punjab Government received as their share of the assets of the Lahore Museum, were published in an attractive volume entitled *Kangra Valley Painting* which has been admired by lovers of paintings in India as well as abroad. It slowly found its way into many cultured homes and has been particularly appreciated by those foreign travellers who wish to know something about the culture of our country.

Kangra Valley Painting provided a brief introduction to the subject, but it could hardly be expected to do justice to the Kangra School of painting and its vast output on many themes which form its subject matter. Kangra painting is not merely a social study which gives us a glimpse into the life of the Hindus in the Kangra Valley in the 18th and 19th centuries, but is also a visual record of the religious poetry which moved them. In fact, it is a pictorial record of the religious ideas of the Hindus, and provides us a glimpse of the message that India has for mankind. To know these paintings is not merely an amusement; it also enables you to acquaint yourself with the basic ideas of Hindu religion which held sway not only in India, but, very much earlier, extended in the form of sculpture to the countries of the Far East like Java and Cambodia. While the saints and ascetics paid homage to God by penance and *bhakti*, the Kangra artists paid homage to Kṛishṇa, their God, through painting. In these paintings we find anecdotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* depicted with a depth of feeling and reverence which only a deep religious feeling could have inspired. Hence, a study of Kangra painting is not merely a study of an art, but is also a study of the fundaments of Hindu religion.

After discovering these collections I was gratified to find that the best collections of the Kangra paintings were still in the country, and had not all been exported to the museums and art galleries of Europe and America as I originally apprehended. I also felt that full justice had not been done to the vast output of the Kangra School which contained masterpieces of high artistic quality. Only a few of them were published by Coomaraswamy in his *Rajput Painting* which, apart from a pale reproduction in colour of the masterpiece *The Hour of Cowdust* and lovely drawings of the Nala-Damayantī series, contains a number of paintings of mediocre quality.

PREFACE

Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* contains only a few masterpieces, and the price is prohibitive which places it beyond the reach of art lovers with moderate means. Hence, I thought that a series of volumes arranged subject-wise should be brought out, to bring within the reach of art lovers at a moderate price the masterpieces of Kangra painting. Accordingly, I approached Mr. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. He at once realised the value of the project and with his characteristic magnanimity gave it his approval. I on my part decided not to accept any royalty or honorarium for this work, which is a pure labour of love for a subject which moves me deeply. Only a person who has been under the spell of Kangra painting can realise its intense emotional appeal. There is a special, a very delicate lyrical quality about these paintings which gives one intense pleasure. Kangra painting has a special place in the heritage of Art of which Indians may well be proud of, but how few know anything about these paintings? Here was an opportunity to select the best Kangra paintings and to present them in a series of volumes to art lovers in India as well as abroad in the form of monographs.

In a brief introduction, the cultural background of the paintings is described in this monograph, and then follow notes which explain the paintings. To some scholars these notes may seem unnecessarily detailed, but one has to consider the requirements of the readers, particularly foreigners, who are not familar with the stories of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Moreover, with the advance of modern education these stories are already forgotten in northern India, though they still survive in the Hindu south. A visit to South India is indeed a unique experience. Apart from grand temples decorated with inspiring sculpture, beautiful temple ritual and the splendour of lights, one is impressed by the culture of the people who are soaked in the stories of Hindu mythology which are a living reality to them. Hence, I felt that notes which may appear redundant to readers from South India were absolutely necessary for others. The notes are given in such a manner that apart from describing the paintings, they present the Kṛishṇa legend in a connected form. At the close of each note I have given my personal reaction to each painting. I feel the main responsibility of a writer on painting is to share his aesthetic experience with the reader. If the readers of this book are able to share the joy which I felt looking at these paintings, I shall feel amply rewarded. It is also a happy coincidence that the manuscript was completed on 26th August, 1959, on the festival of *Janmāshṭamī*, the birthday of Kṛishṇa.

The collection of paintings which were scattered in various collections was in itself a great effort. I discovered the masterpiece *Quelling of Kāliya Nāga* in the collection of Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, while on my way to attend a conference at Srinagar. It was secured with great difficulty through the good offices of Mr. M. G. Butt, Director of Agriculture, Jammu & Kashmir Government. Now the quest for Kangra paintings takes me from the Punjab hills to the cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Varanasi and Lucknow. The largest collection of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings was with Mr. Jugmohandas Modi of Bombay. He is a discriminating collector who, apart from this series, had also collected a number of other Kangra masterpieces and was anxious that his collections should remain in India. I was successful in inducing the authorities of the National Museum to acquire this collection. They ultimately agreed and I brought the Modi collection of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings triumphantly to Delhi in September, 1958. Two paintings were secured from the State Museum, Lucknow, due to the courtesy of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Govind Narain. Next I approached Mr. Gopi Krishna Kanoria in Calcutta who also possesses some of the paintings of the series. An ardent collector, scholar and lover of paintings, Mr. Kanoria readily agreed to participate in the project and lent a masterpiece out of his collection. Rai Krishnadasa, Director of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, was approached next. India owes a debt of gratitude to this noble scholar and aesthete for collecting the best Kangra masterpieces during a period when the value of this art was not properly appreciated in India and thus retaining them in the country.

He readily agreed to participate by allowing the use of the blocks of paintings from his art gallery. I had an opportunity of paying a visit to Srimati Madhuri Desai at her lovely home on Bhulabhai Desai Road, Bombay. A generous patron of art and artists, Srimati Desai accepted my request to lend her paintings for reproduction. Lalit Kalā Akademi, New Delhi, readily agreed to loan colour blocks of four paintings (Pls. II, III, X and XVI). Mr. F. D. Wadia of Poona also agreed to allow the use of the block of his painting *Mākhan Chor* in this album. To all these friends I express my deep sense of gratitude for the generous manner in which they responded to my request, and the trust they reposed in me by lending their precious paintings.

Preparation of colour blocks of miniatures with their fine lines and colour is a difficult work. I have great pleasure in expressing my appreciation of the excellent work done by Mr. Fram Poonawalla of Commercial Art Engravers (Private) Ltd., Bombay, in preparing accurate colour blocks. I thank Dr. Moti Chandra, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and his talented son Pramod Chandra for supervising the preparation of colour blocks. I am thankful to Mr. W. G. Archer for many helpful suggestions he gave which have materially improved the text. I also appreciate the great interest taken by Mr. G. U. Mehta, Managing Director, and Mr. S. M. Desai of Vakil & Sons (Private) Ltd. in the production of this album. I also express my appreciation of the hard work put in by my Personal Assistant, S. Viswanathan, who typed and retyped the manuscript so meticulously, purely as a labour of love. I further express my gratitude to C. Sivaramamurti, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, for providing the translation of the Sanskrit text on the back of the paintings, and for many helpful suggestions which he gave. I am also grateful to Dr. A. M. D'Rozario, Joint Educational Adviser, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Mr. T. S. Krishnamurti, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Dr. Vikram Singh, Secretary, National Museum, for the enthusiastic support they gave to this project. I express my gratitude to Mr. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, for the personal interest he has taken in this publication.

7, Tinmurti Lane, New Delhi
August 26, 1959

M. S. Randhawa

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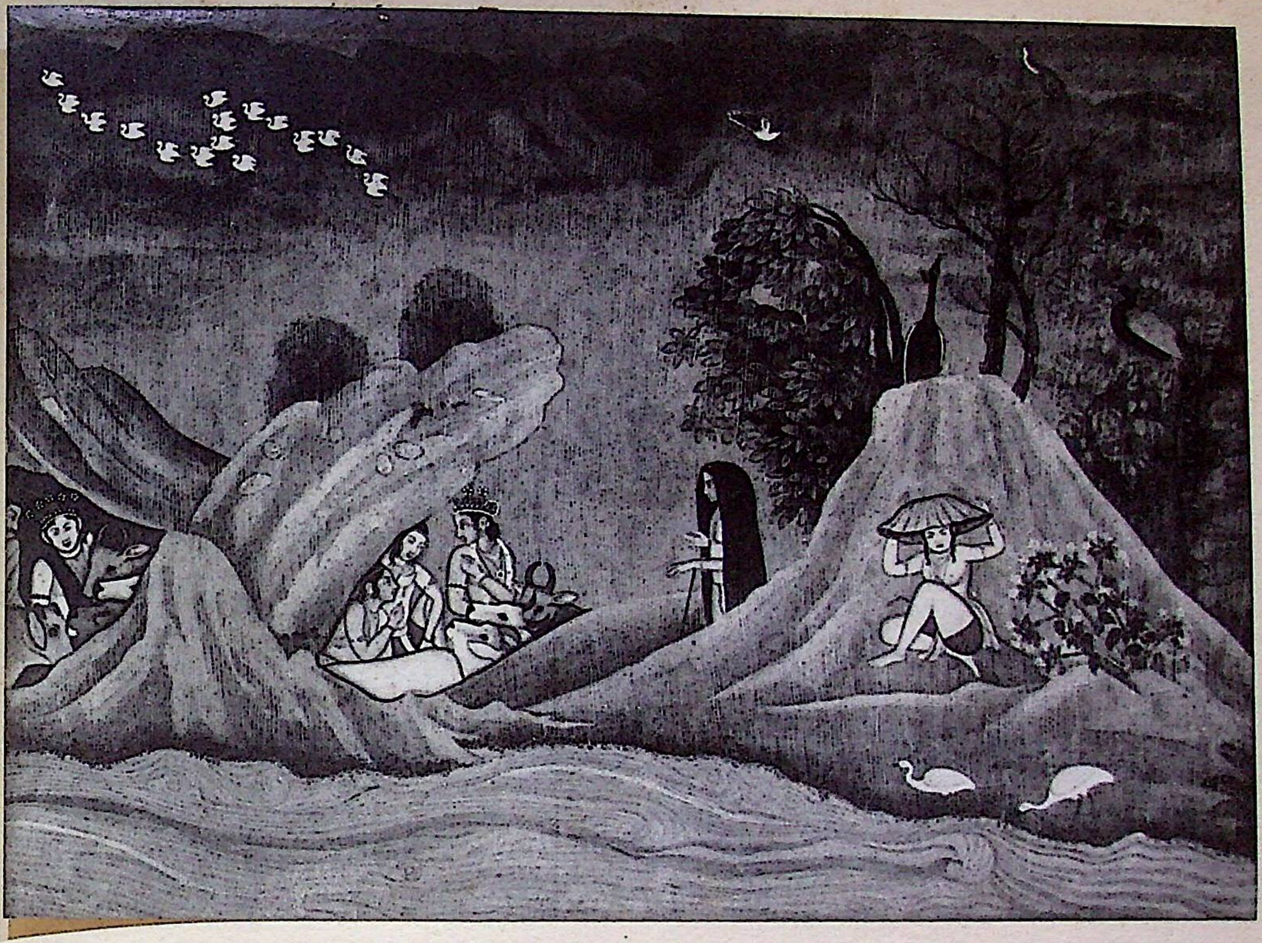


Fig. 1. Sheltering from rain

CHAPTER I

Evolution and Development of Kṛishṇa Cult

Vishṇu, Brahmā and Śiva are the three aspects of God according to Hindu ideas. Vishṇu, the loving Preserver, is the guardian of life; Brahmā is the Creator; and Śiva is the Destroyer. Vishṇu's colour is sky-blue, symbolic of space, and the cosmic radiation is his yellow *pītāmbara*. Night and day are his falling and rising eye-lids. The Milky Way enveloping the universe in its endless coils is the Śeshanāga or Anantanāga, the Serpent of Eternity on which he rests. Vishṇu's vehicle is Garuḍa, semi-human and semi-bird, swift as the wind. As Zimmer observes, Vishṇu is linked with both the eternal antagonists, Śesha, the serpent, representative of cosmic waters, who is the source of all water, and Garuḍa, the conquering principle, the snake's opponent. "This is a paradox with reason, for Vishṇu is the Absolute, the all-containing Divine Essence. He comprises all dichotomies. The Absolute becomes differentiated in polarized manifestations and through these the vital tensions of the world-process are brought into existence and maintained."[1] Vishṇu, as the maintainer of the world, acts as a mediator or moderator in the counter-play between the antagonistic energies, human and demonic, productive and destructive, which are active in the life-process of the universe.

The sun is the chief emblem of Vishṇu, and his many arms suggest the rays of the sun. His *chakra* symbolizes the apparent revolution of the sun round the earth. The *kaustubha* gem which he wears on his chest is the pure soul of the world. He has four arms; in one arm he holds a club, in another a conch-shell, in the third the *chakra* or discus, and in the fourth a lotus. As Havell interprets, "The principle of consciousness *(ahaṁkāra)* in its twofold division, into organs of senses and rudimentary unconscious elements, is symbolised by the spiral conch-shell, the sound of which reverberates throughout the whole universe. The shafts shot from the bow (i.e. the sun's rays) represent the faculties of action and perception. The bright sword wielded by the right arm is holy wisdom, concealed at times in the scabbard of ignorance. On the right side, Vishṇu wields his mace, which is the power of the intellect, and the discus, which is the mind, whose thoughts, like the weapon, fly swifter than the winds."[2]

When the balance between demonic and human energies is disturbed, and sins multiply, Vishṇu reincarnates himself to rid the earth of its calamities and burden of sin. "Though I am the Unborn, the Changeless Self, I condition my nature .and am born by my power. To save the good and destroy the evil-doers, to establish the right, I am born from age to age." Thus he reincarnated himself as a fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, a dwarf, Paraśurāma and Rāma. There is perhaps a glimpse of the evolution of life in the succession of reincarnations from the fish, reptile, mammal and semi-human to human. Kṛishṇa is regarded as the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu, and the legends relating to him are found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and its Hindi version the *Prema Sāgara* by Kavi Lallu Lāl (1810 A.D.).

There are many distinct elements in the Kṛishṇa legend which indicate that it is of composite origin, such as the sage and hero, the god and the lover. The sage-heroic aspect predominates in the *Mahābhārata*, the divine aspect is reflected in the *Bhagvad Gītā* section of *Mahābhārata*, and the lover aspect in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and subsequent literature. Kṛishṇa the cowherd, the boy-god of Mathura-Vṛindāvana, also known as Gopāla-Kṛishṇa is possibly a solar deity or a deity of vegetation and animal husbandry, and tribal god of Ahīras (Ābhīras), Gūjars (Gurjaras) and Jāṭs. His brother Balarāma is the bearer of the plough, a symbol of agriculture. The view that Kṛishṇa was the god of mountains and vegetation finds support in the well-known legend of the worship of the mountain Govardhana.

The earliest reference to Kṛishṇa is in *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (6th century B.C.), where he is mentioned as Kṛishṇa Devakīputra, a disciple of Ghora Ṛishi of Aṅgirasa tribe. Keith says that there was a tradition about Kṛishṇa as a *ṛishi* from the time of the Ṛigvedic hymns.

The next reference to Kṛishṇa is in the *Mahābhārata*, the epic of the Great Bharata War, which was compiled about the 4th century B.C. Kṛishṇa who plays an important part in the epic of *Mahābhārata*, the great battle which took place at Kurukshetra about 1,000 B.C., was undoubtedly a Kshatriya warrior of the Yādava clan. *Bhagvad Gītā*, which is associated with Kṛishṇa, lies 'embedded like a pearl' in the epic of *Mahābhārata*. It was probably written by Vyāsa, a philosopher with broad vision and comprehensive mind, who had a thorough knowledge of the Sākhya, Yoga, Vedānta, and the theory of *bhakti*. "With these threads he weaves, as it were, a woof of many-coloured hues of thought, which are shot across a stiff warp of stern uncompromising pantheistic doctrines, worthy of the most decided adherent of the Vedānta school. Of these cross threads the most conspicuous are those of the Sākhya system for which the author of the *Gītā* has an evident predilection. The whole composition is skilfully thrown into the form of a dramatic poem or dialogue."[3] The essence of the teaching of *Bhagvad Gītā* is the doctrine of action and non-attachment.

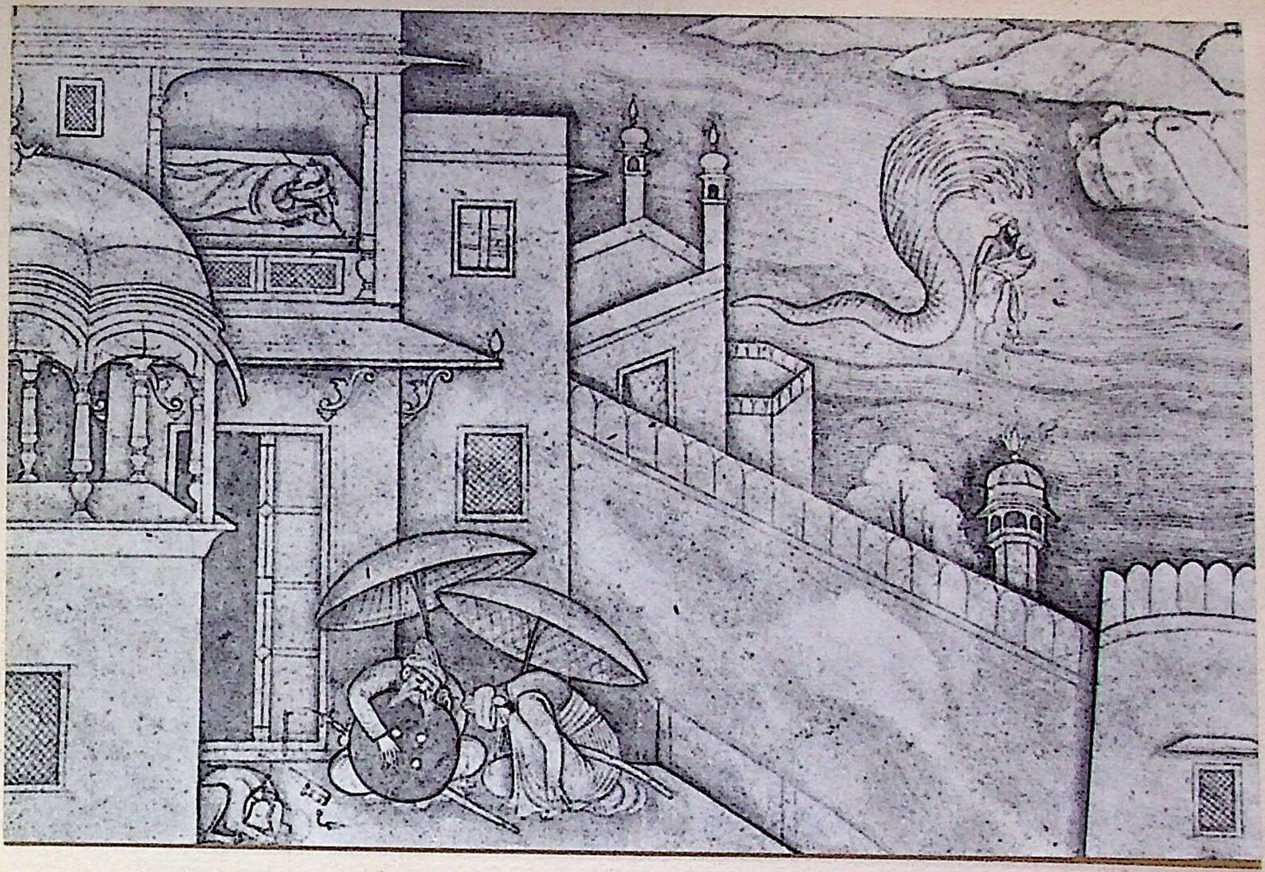


Fig. 2. The nativity of Kṛishṇa

Perform all necessary acts, for action
Is better than inaction, none can live
By sitting still and doing nought; it is
By action only that a man attains
Immunity from action. Yet in working
Ne'er work for recompense; let the act's motive
Be in the act itself.[4]

On the battlefield of Kurukshetra, on the eve of the battle of Mahābhārata, Kṛishṇa revealed his real self to Arjuna. His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

The mighty Lord of all
Displayed to Arjuna his form supreme,
Endowed with countless mouths and countless eyes,
With countless marvellous appearances,
With heavenly fragrance and celestial weapons,
It was as if the firmament were filled,
All in an instant, with a thousand suns,
Blazing with dazzling lustre, so beheld he
The glories of the universe collected
In the one person of the God of gods.[5]

Dazzled by the vision of the Lord, it is thus that Arjuna describes him:

> I see thee, mighty Lord of all, revealed
> In forms of infinite diversity.
> I see thee like a mass of purest light,
> Flashing thy lustre everywhere around.
> I see thee crowned with splendour like the sun,
> Pervading earth and sky, immeasurable,
> Boundless, without beginning, middle, end,
> Preserver of imperishable law,
> The everlasting Man; the triple world
> Is awe-struck at this vision of thy form,
> Stupendous, indescribable in glory.
> Have mercy, God of gods; the universe
> Is fitly dazzled by thy majesty.[6]

This indicates how the warrior or teacher was identified with the sun, or Vishṇu. In the Vedas, Vishṇu is the sun god, who with three steps measures the universe; his first two steps are known to man, but the third step is beyond the flight of birds.

An inscription of about 200 B.C. from Ghasundi near Udaipur in Rajasthan mentions the erection of a stone wall around the hall of worship of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vasudeva. In the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali (middle of the 2nd century B.C.) we find mention of the followers of Vasudeva. Patañjali also associates Kṛishṇa with Saṁkarshaṇa.

The Besnagar inscription (*c.* 200 B.C.) near Bhilsa records the creation of a Garuḍa pillar by the Bhāgavata Heliodoros of Taxila, an ambassador of the Greek king Anṭialkidas to the Śunga king Kaśīputra Bhagabhadra, in honour of Vasudeva, who is described as the God of gods.

There is also perhaps a Dravidian element in the Kṛishṇa legend, for one finds a reference to Kṛishṇa-Gopāla in the Tamil classic *Silappadikaram* written before the 2nd century A.D. It mentions Mayavān (The Dark One) who plays his flute and sports with milkmaids. His elder brother is Balarāma, and his wife Pinnai. It further mentions the *kuravai* dance, Mayavān playing on the flute, dancing of Pinnai and Mayavān on the banks of the Jamuna, and the theft of Pinnai's clothes by Mayavān. It is clear, therefore, that many of the stories which are included in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* were current in the South during the Sangam age when the *Silappadikaram* was written.

The icons of *Govardhana-dhara* and *Kāliya-mardana* are represented in a sculptured stele (4th century A.D.) at Mandor near Jodhpur in Rajasthan.

By the time of Pāṇini, the worship of both Kṛishṇa and Arjuna was well established. Pāṇini regarded them as Kshatriya heroes raised to the rank of divinity. Vaishṇavism was also the chief faith of the Guptas. In the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta there is a reference to Kṛishṇa waiting upon his mother Devakī after he had killed Kaṁsa. Amongst the panels of the Gupta temple at Deogarh, are shown the birth of Kṛishṇa, Nanda and Yaśodā fondling Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, Kṛishṇa kicking the milk-cart, and Kṛishṇa receiving his humble friend Sudāmā. From their style the panels are assigned to the early 5th century A.D. From this evidence it can be concluded that the Kṛishṇa legend had developed in sufficient detail in the early Gupta period, i.e., 4th to 5th century A.D. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya mentions that Herakles was worshipped by the Śūrasenas, who formed the great Yādava tribe, and who inhabited the banks of the Jamuna and had Mathura as their capital. Obviously Herakles is Kṛishṇa.

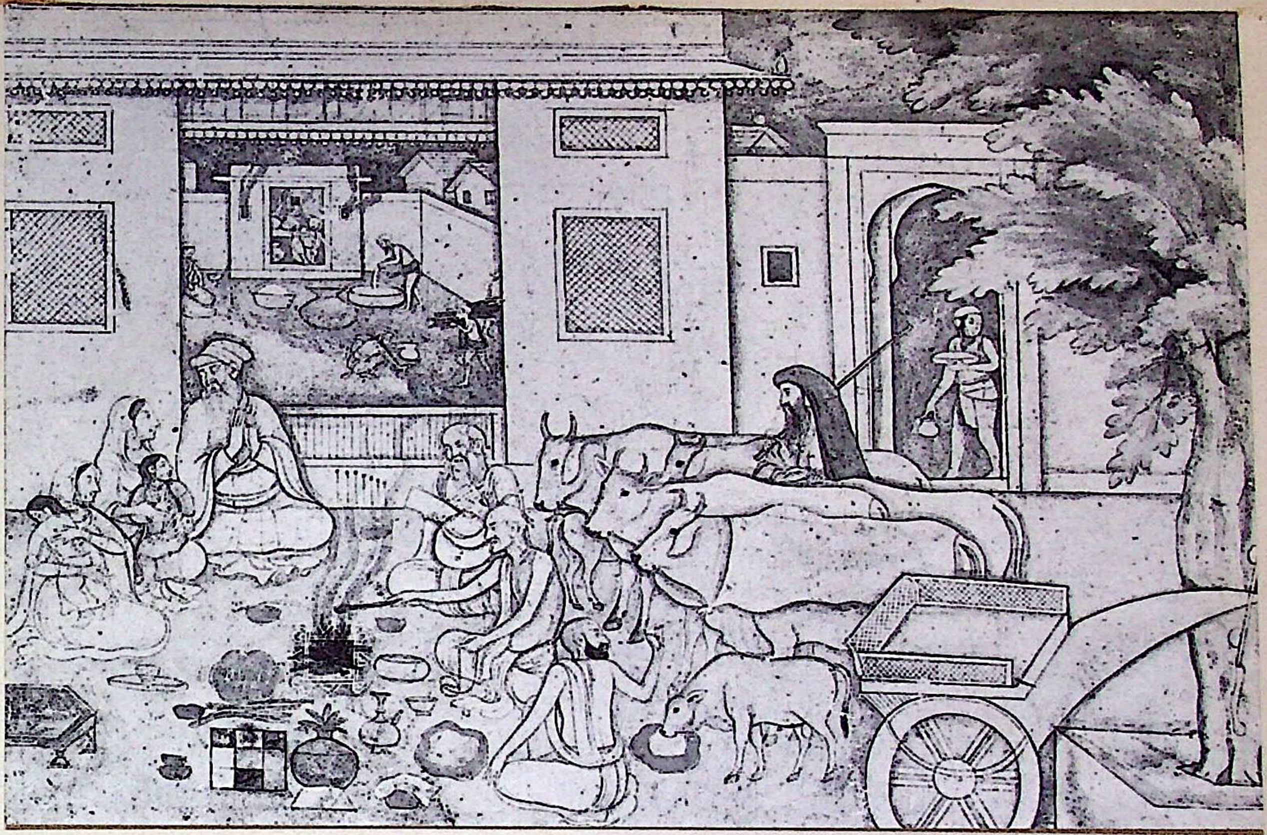


Fig. 3. Brahmin priests performing yajña in the home of Nanda

Possibly, during the 6th century A.D., an appendix called the *Harivaṁśa*, or genealogy of Kṛishṇa was added to the *Mahābhārata*, in which details regarding the birth, childhood and youth of Kṛishṇa are given. Therein Kṛishṇa says, "Brahmans perform *yajñas* of hymns, peasants' *yajñas* are of the plough. We are for the *yajñas* of the mountain. I shall surely cause the worship of cows through force, if need be." The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which was a text contemporaneous with *Harivaṁśa* maintains the same elements of Kṛishṇa legend, and tells in great detail the sports and exploits of Kṛishṇa's childhood and youth.

Now we come to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which provides the text of the Kangra paintings reproduced in this album. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was possibly compiled in the 9th and 10th century A.D. and borrows from *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, and adds many more details about the exploits of child Kṛishṇa. The exploits of the child Kṛishṇa at Gokula and his love-affairs with the milkmaids of Vṛindāvana are given in great detail. Among the *gopīs*, Kṛishṇa has a favourite one, but her name is not mentioned in the text. It is in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, written probably in the 14th century A.D., that Rādhā is mentioned.

From 7th to 10th century A.D. South India was swept by a wave of ardent Kṛishṇa worship. That the cult of Kṛishṇa and the *gopīs* was popular in South India very early is evident from the sculptures at Mamallapuram on the sea-coast, thirty miles south of Madras. The monolithic cave temples were carved under the patronage of Pallavas whose capital was at Kanchi in the 7th century A.D. In the so-called 'Gopīs Cave' Kṛishṇa is shown milking a cow, adoringly watched by a crowd of *gopīs*. The legend of Kṛishṇa lifting the Govardhana is also depicted in a bas-relief. These motifs were borrowed by the Pallava Mahendravarman from the carvings on the pillars of the Mogalrājapuram Cave near Vijayawada in which there are panels illustrating scenes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which were executed during the reign of Vikramahendra, the Vishṇukundi king in the 6th century A.D. The rounded boulders on the rocks are called balls of butter scattered by Kṛishṇa, and the hollows scooped in the rocks are described as churning pots of *gopīs*. This indicates how popular imagination in South India was touched by the legend of Kṛishṇa and the *gopīs*. In the middle of 8th century A.D. the Alvar saint Andal, who is also called Mirābaī of South India, composed passionate lyrics in praise of Kṛishṇa. According to M. R. Iyengar, "the *Bhāgavata* was the ripe fruit of Alvar-Vaishṇava renaissance and bears the indelible impress of the living mystical experience of the Alvars, most of whom lived by the side of rivers, such as the Tamraparni, Krtamala, and Cauvery."[7] According to South Indian tradition, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was composed in the city of Kanchi, an ancient seat of Sanskrit learning in the country of the Pāṇḍyas in Tamil Nad. Thus, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is a synthesis of Āryan and Dravidian traditions and ideals, and provided a link which forged the unity of Hindu India.

The Kṛishṇa legend symbolizes the eternal fight between good and evil, between God and Satan. Ultimately it is good that triumphs, and not evil; it is Vishṇu who wins and not the *asuras*. Kālanemī, the demon antagonist of Vishṇu, in his incarnation as Drumālika rapes Pavanarekhā, the beautiful and faithful wife of Ugrasena, the king of Mathura. The child born to Pavanarekhā was Kaṁsa. As soon as he grew up Kaṁsa deposed his father, and became king of Mathura. He began to oppress all worshippers of Vishṇu, and on account of his cruelty even the patient Mother Earth groaned, and in the form of a cow went complaining to the celestial region and sought the help of Vishṇu (Plate I). Vishṇu became incarnate in the womb of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva. Devakī is Kaṁsa's sister. It was foretold that a son of Devakī would destroy the tyrant Kaṁsa. To forestall his doom, Kaṁsa kept Vasudeva and Devakī confined in his palace. The first six children born to Devakī were put to death. When she conceived the seventh child, it was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī, a co-wife of Vasudeva in Vṛindāvana. He was Balarāma, later to be Kṛishṇa's constant companion and supporter. The eighth child was Kṛishṇa. At the time of his birth the palace prison was filled with a radiance. The guards fell into a deep slumber, Vasudeva's fetters fell apart, and the prison doors swung open. It was a stormy night and Vasudeva, placing the child in a winnowing basket, proceeded towards Gokula. Protected by Śesha, he crossed the stormy Jamuna (Fig. 2). He exchanged the child with the newly born female child of Yaśodā, the wife of Nanda, the headman of Gokula. Kṛishṇa was reared at Gokula by Nanda and Yaśodā as their own son.

Kaṁsa sent numerous demons to put an end to the life of Kṛishṇa. A demoness Pūtanā attempted to suckle him with her poisoned breasts, but he sucked the life out of her. Śakaṭāsura crushed a heavy cart under which Kṛishṇa was lying in a cradle, but with a kick Kṛishṇa toppled it and killed Śakaṭāsura.

The demons killed by Kṛishṇa appear in the form of animals or natural phenomena commonly seen in the villages of India. As a baby he is carried into the sky by a whirl-wind demon Tṛiṇāvarta. He is swallowed by a python, Aghāsura, and he subdues a poisonous snake, Kāliya. He is attacked by a demon Vatsāsura in the form of a calf, and later on by a demon Arīshṭa in the form of a charging bull. Dhenuka, a demon, attacks him in the form of a wild ass, and demon Keśī attacks him in the form of a wild and ferocious horse. Bakāsura, a demon in the form of a giant crane, attempts to swallow him. In inventing these demons, the authors of the legends have magnified the terrors which a village boy

आम्नाय-ग्रन्थालय,
भारतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

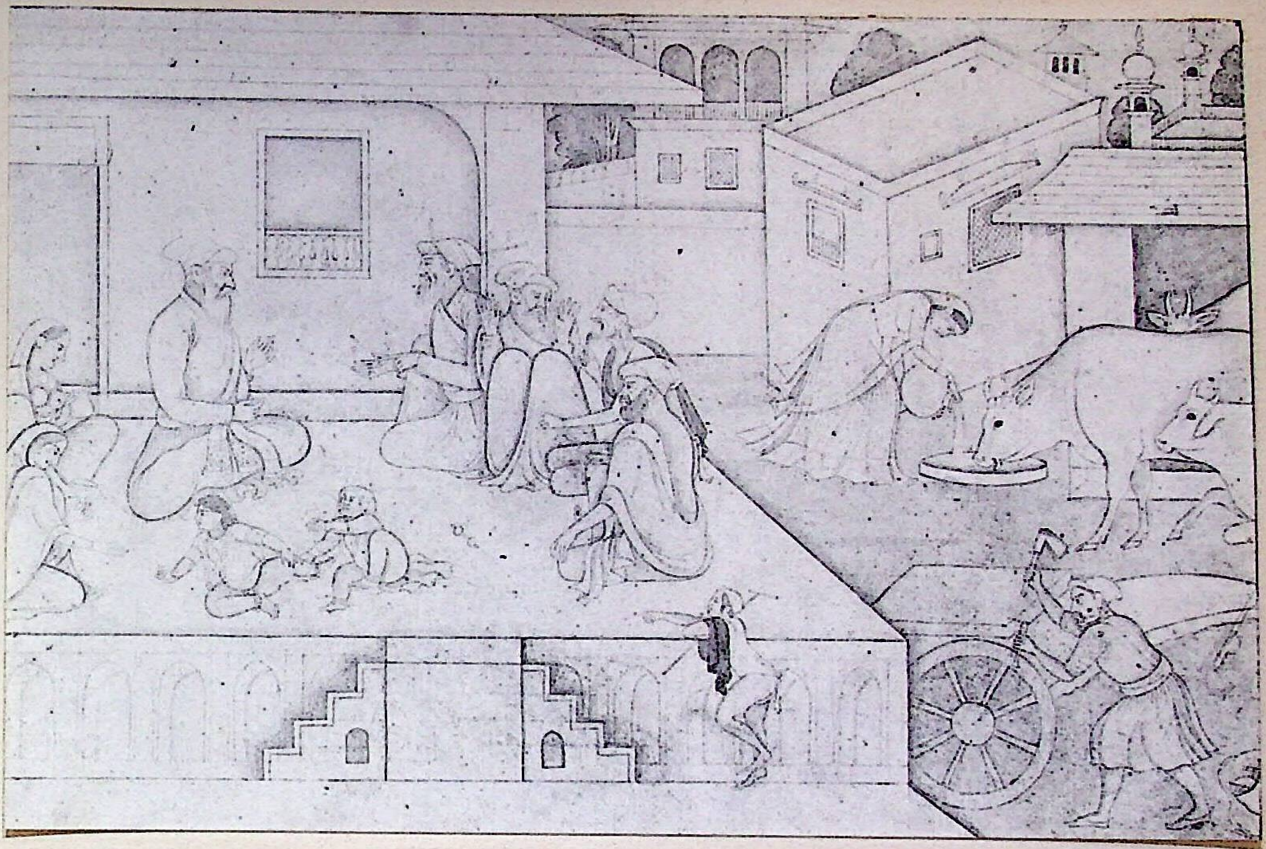


Fig. 4. Villagers of Gokula expressing satisfaction at the escape of Kṛishṇa from the demon Śakaṭāsura

in India meets in his daily life. The prototypes are birds and animals commonly found in the villages, though their size and strength is often exaggerated.

Dressed in blue and yellow *kurtās*, with pretty little curls scattered over their foreheads, amulets fastened on their arms, necklets on their necks, holding toys in their hands, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma play on the platform in the courtyard of Nanda's house. They tumble about and prattle lispingly, while an admiring crowd of villagers watches them expressing wonder at the miracle wrought by Kṛishṇa in saving himself from Śakaṭāsura. In the courtyard a woman is watering a cow, and a carpenter is repairing the cart which was upset by Kṛishṇa. A cowherd boy with a blanket on his shoulder holding a stick is admiring the children (Fig. 4).

There is also an interesting account of customs and ceremonials in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Vasudeva sends his family priest Garga, a well-known astrologer, to name Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. He is received by Nanda, who spreads carpets of silk and conducts him with musical instruments to his home. Garga tells him that he will give the names of these children in a secluded place. He is conducted to a pavilion where he gives Nanda, Yaśodā and Rohiṇī, the names of the children, and tells them that they will kill Kaṁsa and remove the burden of the earth. While Garga is explaining the destiny of the divine children, cows standing in front of the pavilion also listen with eagerness, and a calf frisks playfully with his tail uplifted (Fig. 10).

The pranks of child Kṛishṇa are at once the delight and despair of his mother and the neighbours. He steals butter, is caught, and Yaśodā ties him to a mortar (Plate III). He uproots the two *arjuna* trees under which he was tied and gives salvation to Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva (Plate IV).

Harassed by demons, Nanda and his followers migrate from Gokula to Vṛindāvana (Plate V). He lifts the mountain Govardhana and humbles Indra. He subdues the poisonous serpent Kāliya (Plate IX). He steals the clothes of *gopīs* while they are bathing in the Jamuna (Plate XI). Once when he and his cowherds are hungry, he sends for food from the Brahmins of Mathura, who refuse it. Their wives, however, bring offerings of food to Kṛishṇa and his companions (Plate XII).

On a clear moonlit night he sports with the milkmaids on the sands of the Jamuna and performs his special dance, the *Rāsa Maṇḍala*. The dance is followed by a bath in the Jamuna (Plate XVI).

Now Kaṁsa sends Akrūra to bring Kṛishṇa to Mathura. On the way Kṛishṇa reveals his Godhead to Akrūra, who worships him (Plate XVIII). In Mathura, he meets the hunch-backed woman Kubjā. He makes her straight and beautiful. He now breaks the great bow of Śiva. Next he kills Kuvalayāpīḍa, a mad elephant sent by Kaṁsa. In the wrestling arena he kills the wrestlers of Kaṁsa. Then he jumps on the dais and slays Kaṁsa (Plate XX). He releases Vasudeva and Devakī from the prison and installs Ugrasena upon the throne.

Later he migrates to Gujarat and becomes the king of Dvārakā. This is the point where the Gopāla-Kṛishṇa pastoral legend merges with the semi-historical legend of Kṛishṇa as the Yādava ruler of Dvārakā. He fights numerous demons, marries Rukmiṇī, daughter of the king of Vidarbha and leads a princely life in the company of his many wives. There comes a time when the Yādava chiefs, the kinsmen of Kṛishṇa, quarrel among themselves and in a drunken brawl his close relatives are slain. After this Kṛishṇa goes to a forest and lies under a tree. There a hunter mistaking him for a deer shoots an arrow, which pierces his heel, the only vulnerable part of his body. Laying down his mortal body he reassumes his character as Vishṇu. Soon after, the doomed city of Dvārakā is engulfed by the sea.

There are many parallels in the birth-story of Kṛishṇa and Jesus Christ. The legend of the birth of a saviour and an incarnation of God, which had its origin in the soil of India, many centuries before the nativity of Christ, seems ultimately to have reached the Mediterranean area. Or may be, both the legends developed independently, for there is parallelism in human thought and mind which has not been sufficiently recognised. The flight of Joseph and Mary with the infant Jesus from Bethlehem to Egypt to escape the wrath of Herod can be compared with the exodus of Nanda and family with Kṛishṇa and Balarāma from Gokula to Vṛindāvana. Herod is the semitic counterpart of Kaṁsa. Kaṁsa ordered the slaughter of the children of Yādavas. Similarly, Herod ordered the massacre of the innocent children of Bethlehem in the hope of destroying the child Jesus.

In Mathura sculpture, attributed to 6th century A.D., Balarāma is commonly shown resting under the expanded hood of a cobra. It is said that Balarāma was an incarnation of Śesha. His Nāga character is strongly emphasized in the story of his end. While he was sitting under a tree on the shore of the ocean, a large snake crawled out of his mouth leaving his body inanimate. This, according to Zimmer, is his Śesha-nature, his secret life-essence, going back to the watery deep. "As it winds its way in gigantic undulations serpents sing its praises. The ocean itself arises in the form of a mighty serpent king to salute the great guest, its own higher self, the serpent of the universal waters. The serpent-essence of the divine hero goes back into the formlessness of the abyss — returning into itself after having accomplished the momentary role of companion and supporter to a human *avatāra*."[8] Nāga worship

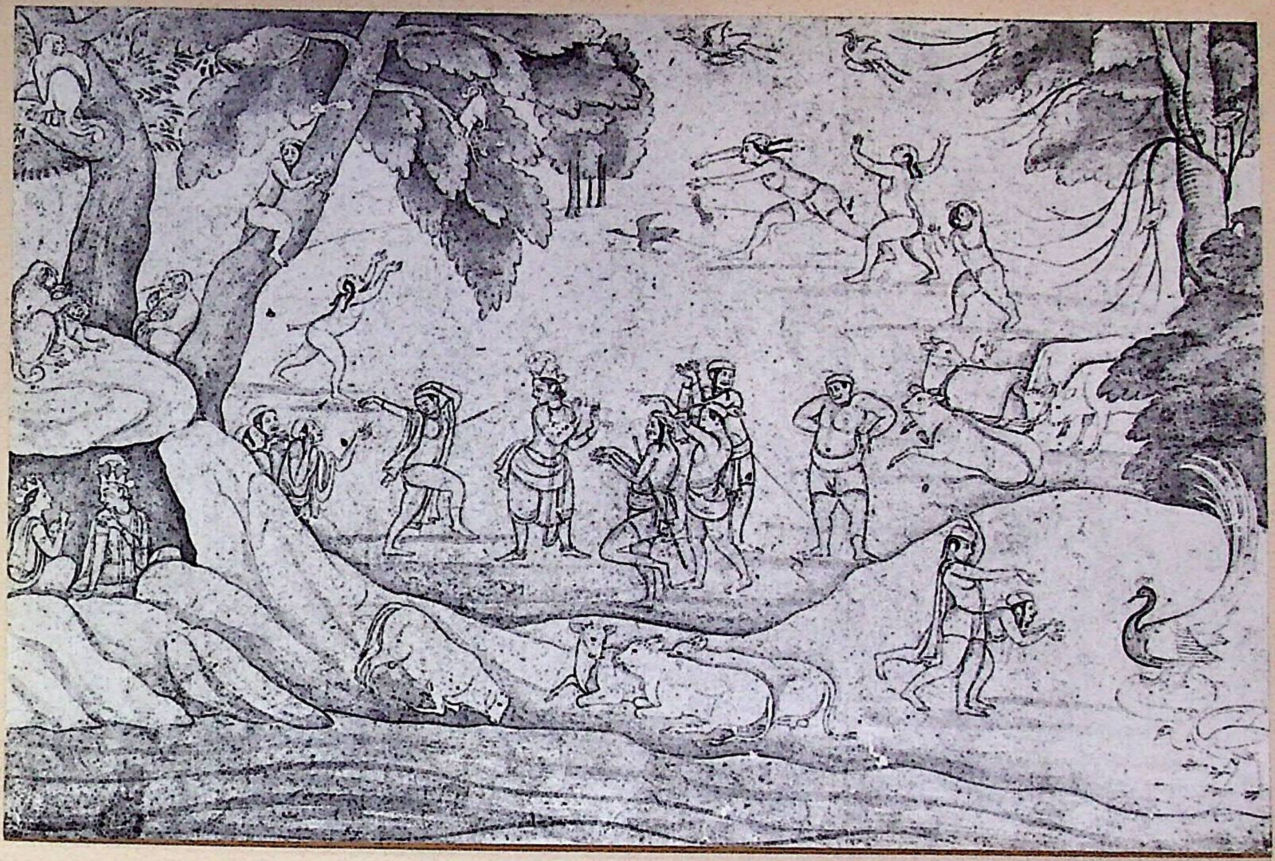


Fig. 5. Vana Vihāra — Kṛishṇa and cowherd boys playing in the forest

was widely prevalent in India in the past. Snake-stones on which conjugating pairs of snakes are shown are commonly worshipped in South India by women desirous of off-spring. Snake is the symbol of fertility. It is also likely that the story of subduing of Kāliya by Kṛishṇa and his banishment to Ramaṇaka Dvīpa indicates the substitution of the cult of snake worship by Kṛishṇa worship.

The emergence of Kṛishṇa as the Supreme God is indicated by many legends in which we can sense the conflict between the Kṛishṇa cult and the worship of the Vedic deities. For instance, Kṛishṇa humbles Brahmā when he kidnaps Kṛishṇa's cowherd companions and their calves and confines them in a cave. So also, when Agni creates a conflagration, Kṛishṇa swallows the fire thus defeating him. Kṛishṇa rescues Nanda when he gets drowned in the Jamuna and Varuṇa, the river-god, comes and begs pardon of Kṛishṇa. In the *Giri Govardhana* episode, Kṛishṇa seduces the inhabitants of Vraja from the worship of the rain-god Indra and converts them to the worship of the mountain Govardhana. Indra finally acknowledges Kṛishṇa's omnipotence. Thus Kṛishṇa replaces Indra as the god of farmers and cowherds. Similarly, the legend of *Pārijātaharaṇa* given in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* represents in fictional form the historical conflict between the rival divinities.

A reference to Kṛishṇa as God of the Universe is found in a child story of Kṛishṇa in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* when he revealed his Universal Form *(Viśva-rūpa-darśana)* to his mother Yaśodā. One day Kṛishṇa was found eating dirt. The cowherd boys informed Yaśodā that Kṛishṇa had eaten mud. When Yaśodā reprimanded him, he denied having done so. On this she asked him to open his mouth.

When Kṛishṇa opened his mouth, she saw countless suns and moons, planets and stars moving in splendid measures, like silver islands in a shoreless sapphire sea, and in fact the entire universe. Unable to bear the revelation, Yaśodā, trembling with fear, closed her eyes, bowed her head before his feet, and realised that her son was none else than Vishṇu himself. The gods, however, drew over her sight the veil of illusion and she again felt that the child in front of her was only her son.

It is the beauty of the Indian countryside which is idealized in the Kṛishṇa legend as narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Beauty is not in the far off and unusual. It is in everyday life and in things as they are. Seen through the transfiguring eye of love, the ordinary events of life appear beautiful. The further we go into beauty, the more we make it our own. The more our life is immersed in beauty, the nearer we are to reality. If beauty cannot be seen in the familiar and known, it cannot be discovered in the extraordinary and far off. In fact, beauty is everywhere and only we should be prepared to receive it. Beauty is in the sacred hour of cow-dust, when the cattle return home at sunset raising a cloud of dust turned into gold by the slanting rays of the setting sun. Beauty is in women performing their household work, cooking meals in the kitchen, churning milk and fetching water from the well. How beautiful the forest looks when the peacocks are dancing ecstatically displaying their iridescent tail-feathers in gorgeous fans, and shaking in rapture at the sight of the pea-hens! How beautiful is the sky draped in slate-blue clouds, against which the skeins of white *sāras* cranes are seen in such wonderful contrast! How beautiful are the doves protecting their young ones in their nests, symbolic of mother-love and innocence! Even the monkeys picking lice from the heads of their mates, hugging their babies who cling so helplessly to them, and growling angrily at the cowherd boys look beautiful. How beautiful the cows look contentedly munching on the bank of the river (Fig. 5)!

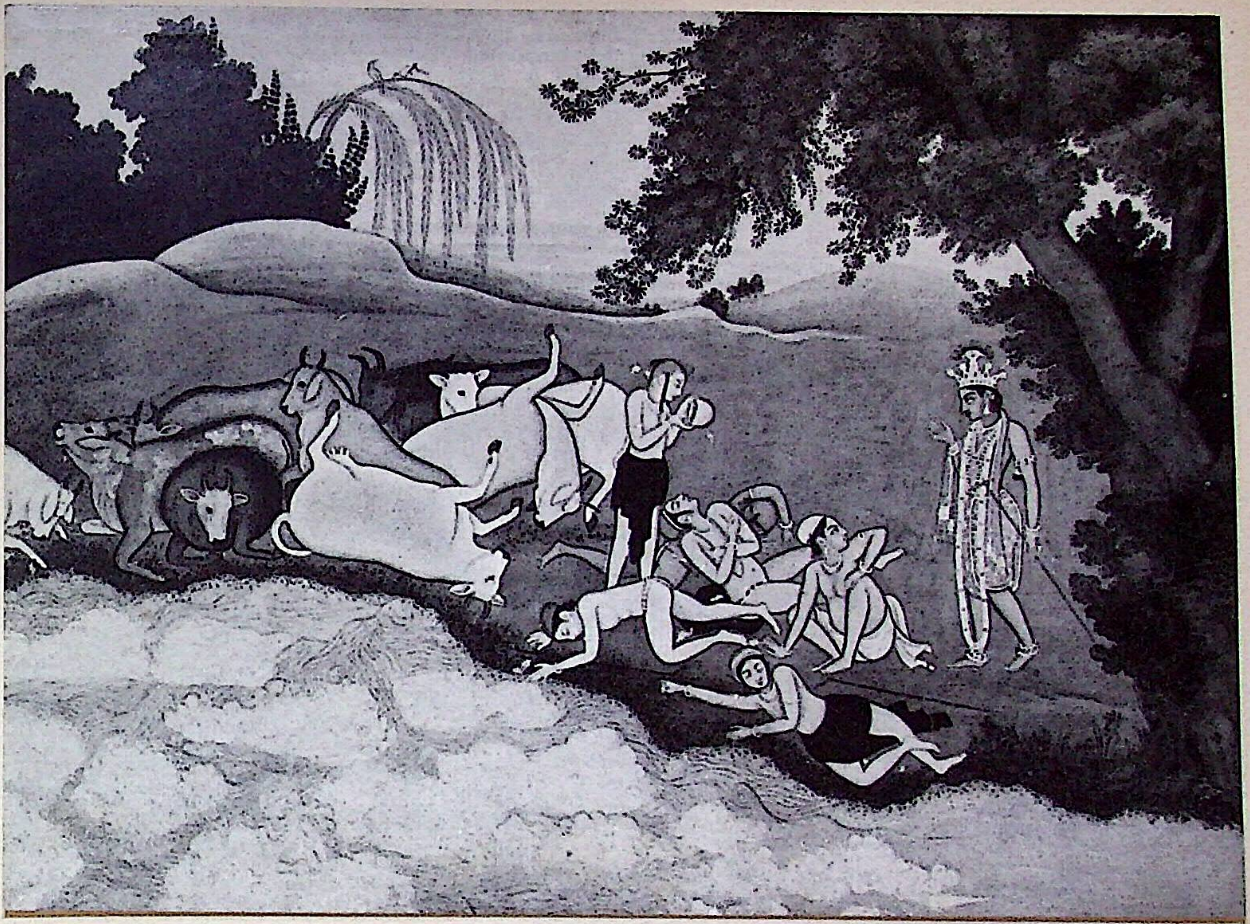


Fig 6. Kṛishṇa revives the cows and cowherds stupefied by the poison of Kāliya

CHAPTER II

Vaishṇava Literature and the *Bhakti* Cult

Early Vaishṇava literature was the work of Sanskrit writers Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.), Mādhava (1197-1276 A.D.), and Nimbārka (beginning of 12th century). The supreme expression of the first movement appears in Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda*, which can be regarded as the last great Sanskrit poem, almost the swan-song of classic Sanskrit literary movement which starting from the 3rd century A.D. continued up to 12th century A.D. Jayadeva was the court poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena (1179-1205 A.D.) the last Hindu king of Bengal. It is in *Gīta Govinda* that Rādhā becomes prominent. Rādhā, the loveliest of *gopīs* and the favourite of Kṛishṇa, is the daughter of Vṛishabhānu and is married to Ayana, a brother of Yaśodā. In the opening verse of *Gīta Govinda* Jayadeva describes how the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa arose. It was a dark and a stormy night and Nanda asked Rādhā to escort Kṛishṇa home, and on the way their romance developed. Rādhā gets identified with Lakshmī, the everlasting consort of Vishṇu, and in the 14th century she is worshipped along with Kṛishṇa.

From the 14th to the 16th century is the age of Vaishṇava poets and mystics who wrote in the language of the people. This is the period which saw the rise of the regional languages such as Bengali, Panjabi, and the various dialects of Hindi, from the secondary Prākṛits. The break-up of the Hindu kingdoms in the northern India under the impact of Islamic invasions may itself have contributed to their development from literature in Sanskrit which had long ago ceased to be the language of the people and was cultivated only by the learned and the aristocracy under the patronage of the Hindu Rajas. Moreover, the new religious movement of Vaishṇavism itself fostered the development of the regional languages so that its message could reach the masses. Kabīr, the disciple of Rāmānanda, flourished in the 15th century and died in 1518 A.D. In his religious poems, which are collected in the form of a *Granth*, he popularized the new cult. It was, however, Vidyāpati and Chaṇḍī Dās, who lived during the first half of the 15th century, who sang ecstatically about the love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Vidyāpati (fl. 1400-1470 A.D.) wrote matchless poems in Maithili dialect dealing allegorically with the relation of the Soul to God under the form of love which Rādhā bore to Kṛishṇa. In *Śrī Kṛishṇa Kīrtana* of Chaṇḍī Dās (fl. 1420 A.D.) we find identification of Rādhā with Lakshmī. Chaṇḍī Dās describes the love-play of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in charming language. The physical charm of Rādhā, and the ecstasies of love are described with such eloquence that as you read these poems you seem to share the experience of the poet. Chaitanya (1486 - 1533 A.D.), the prophet of Vaishṇavism in Bengal, accepted the works of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Chaṇḍī Dās. The Gauḍa-Vaishṇavas regarded the *Gīta Govinda* as a literary sequel to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and attempts were made to find out hidden meaning from almost every verse. *Parakīyā* love was regarded as the highest form of love, and in Vaishṇavism, as preached by Chaitanya and his disciples, Rādhā occupies the most exalted place.

Now let us follow the Kṛishṇa cult as it developed in Rajasthan and Vraja, the land of Kṛishṇa. Mīrābaī (fl. 1509 A.D.) the princess poetess of Rajasthan wrote a much admired commentary on *Gīta Govinda*. Her passionate hymns in praise of Kṛishṇa are still sung with devotion. The tradition is that she worshipped the image of Kṛishṇa Raṇchhoḍ with such fervour that it came to life, and the god descending from his shrine embraced her, crying 'Welcome Mīrā'. On hearing these words, overcome with rapture, she died in his arms. Keshava Dās (fl. 1580 A.D.), the court poet of Raja Indrajit of Orchha, in his *Rasikapriyā* gave a classification of heroes and heroines, and an account of *Bārāmāsā*, or twelve months of the year largely based on amours of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. No doubt, he was inspired by the famous courtesan and poetess Parbin Rāi Pāṭuri, in whose honour he composed his great work, the *Kavi-priyā*. In the 16th century A.D., Vraja, the country around Mathura, became the home of a school of poets founded by Vallabhāchārya (born 1478 A.D.) and his son Viṭṭhalanātha devoted to Kṛishṇa-worship. These poets were followed by Sūr Dās and Bihārī Lāl, the author of *Satsaiyā*. Sūr Dās (fl. 1550 A.D.), the blind poet and mystic, translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into verse in the vernacular, and collection of his hymns in praise of Kṛishṇa compiled in *Sūr Sāgar* later on provided inspiring themes to many Rajasthani painters. Bihārī Lāl Chaube (fl. 1662 A.D.) wrote 700 couplets dealing with the Kṛishṇa theme for his patron Maharaja Jai Singh. For compactness, elegance, poetic flavour and ingenuity of expression they stand unmatched. These poems achieved great popularity, because they appealed to the sense of the true and beautiful. As Grierson rightly says, "One reason for the excellence of these little poems is their almost invariable truth to nature, and the cause of this is that from the first they have been rooted in village life and language, and not in the pandit-fostering circles of the towns." These poets brought into prominence the stories of Rādhā and milkmaids which are the symbols of Vaishṇava mysticism. "The young Kṛishṇa represented to them the Supreme Deity, the Creator, from whom all Creation was a sportive emanation, and full of love, passing the love of a father, to his devotees. Rādhā on the other hand was the human soul, led by religion to offer not of her own, but her own whole self to God. That religion taught the necessity of absolute entire self-surrender to the God which it adored, and, so too, imaged that devotion by human love. The soul's devotion to the deity is pictured by Rādhā's self-abandonment to her beloved Kṛishṇa."[9]

आम्नाय—ग्रन्थालय,
भारतनिधि, करौंदी
वाराणसी-5

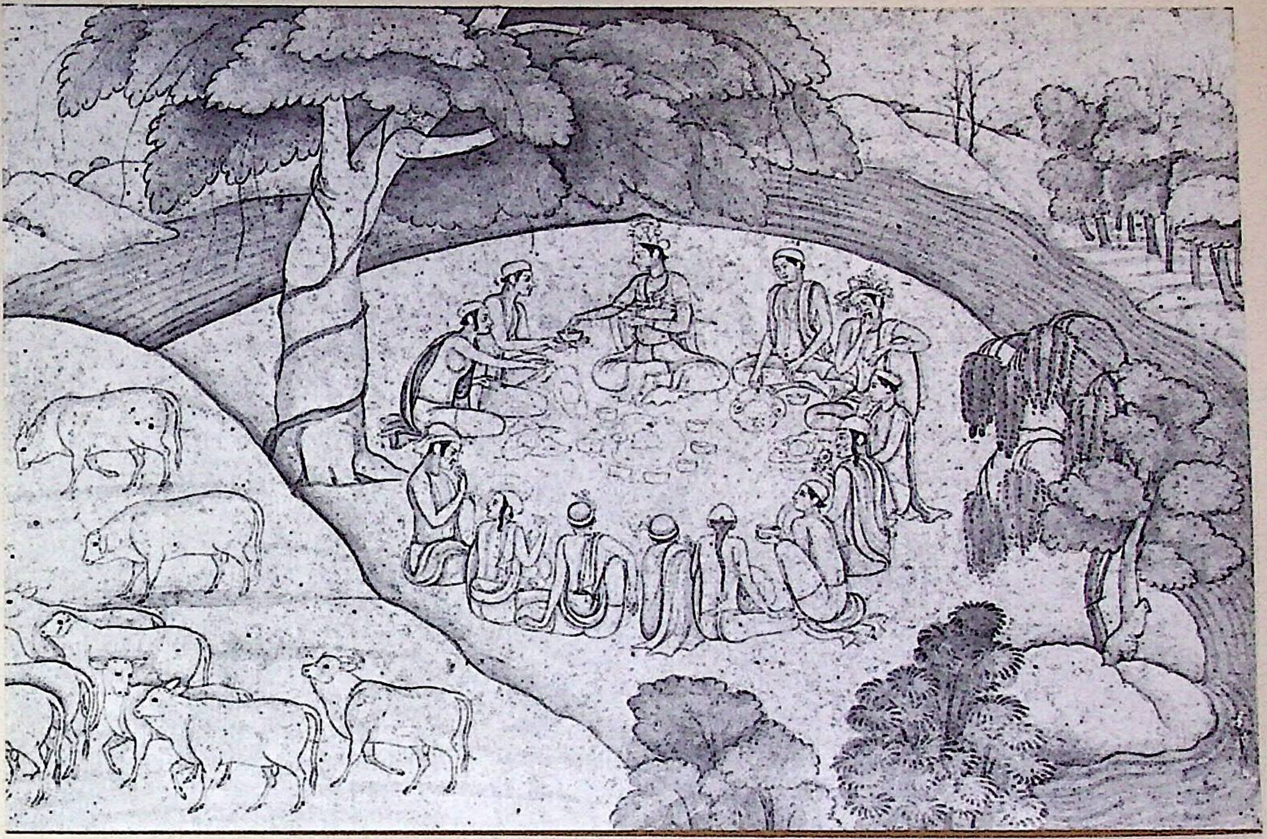


Fig. 7. Feast in the forest

The last grand expression of the Kṛishṇa theme is in the Braja Bhāshā poetry of Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708), the tenth *Guru* of the Sikhs. The *Guru* had fifty-two bards in his employ, including Kuwar, son of the famous poet Keshava Dās, who came to him in 1697. The *Guru* was a great lover of Nature, and at Paunta, he took up his residence for a while and spent his time practising the use of arms and writing poetry. Inspired by the beauty of the landscape, the emerald current of the Jamuna hemmed in by the blue hills of the Shivaliks, and the gorgeous sunrises and sunsets of Paunta, he wrote his famous *Kṛishṇa Avatāra* (1688 A.D.). With great joy he describes the sports of Kṛishṇa with the *gopīs*, and particularly the devoted love of Rādhā. In *Rāsa Maṇḍala Varṇana* he describes the dance of Kṛishṇa with the *gopīs* in an acrostic made out of thirty-five letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet.

The literature and art inspired by Vaishṇavism is the Indian equivalent of Zen Buddhistic culture of China and Japan. As Coomaraswamy says, "Each in its own way achieves the union of *nirvāṇa* and *saṁsāra*, renunciation and pleasure, religion with the world, man and Nature." In Vaishṇava literature there is conscious delight in wild Nature, in scenery, in the song of birds, in free open air life, and above all in the loveliness of female form. There are charming descriptions of the rainy season, lakes studded with lotuses, and the great rivers in monsoon floods. The forest murmurs in our ears, we feel the breath of spring time, and the colours of the blossoms of forest trees live and glow. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* there are delightful descriptions of the rainy season, of thundering black clouds decorating the sky and cheering the people with the promise of life-giving rain, the beauty of the autumn moon, and the scented season of spring. However, Nature is not admired for its own sake, but only so far as it reflects the moods and sentiments of lovers as symbolized by Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. When the painter depicts lovers seated hand in hand rapturously hailing the moon-rise over the lake studded with lotuses, he is more concerned to represent their common happiness than to put before us an interpretation of Nature. The philosophic language of Vaishṇava art is that of human love, and its pair of opposites are typified by Man and Woman. It finds its most eloquent expression in Kangra painting, particularly that which deals with the Kṛishṇa theme.

Kṛishṇa is the embodiment of Love, Beauty and Bliss. The word Kṛishṇa means 'One who arouses love or devotion in all', and whose holiest word, the most secret of all is : "Abandoning all rules of conduct, come to Me alone for refuge. Be not grieved, for I shall release thee from all evils." (*Gītā*, XVIII, 66). All the fourfold goals of life that are obtained through knowledge, *karma*, *yoga*, occupation and righteousness are realized through *bhakti*. The complete surrender to Kṛishṇa is the way to bliss.

Bhakti is loving attachment to a personal God. It is utter devotion to God in which self is forgotten. The devotee ultimately experiences the most exalted rapture of divine love known as *mahābhāva*, when the body dissolves into supreme ecstasy. This was the experience of Śrī Chaitanya, and also of Śrī Rāmakṛishṇa (1836-1886 A.D.).

Vaishṇava saints cared little for mere brilliance of intellect. They lay stress upon feeling rather than knowledge. According to them the real quest of man is not merely wisdom, but to discover the substance of joy. As Guru Nanak says, 'Oh restless mind, nobody found Him by mere cleverness. Only he who loved, found Him.' By the practice of truth, and by truthful conduct the mirror of soul is cleaned, and then God alone is reflected therein. 'Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.' Self-realization is forgetfulness of self in the joy of His beauty. When selfishness is renounced in the joy of His love, it is turned into holiness of self-sacrifice. The mind purified through *bhakti* remains for ever immersed in the ecstasy of God-vision, and the cultivation of this divine love is the chief concern of the Vaishṇava religion.

Married heroines are classified into two types, *svakīyā*, who loves her own lord, and *parakīyā*, who loves one who is not her lord. Thus Sītā, Damayantī and Pārvatī are *svakīyā* heroines who are intensely devoted to their husbands and are ideal Hindu wives. *Rāmāyaṇa*, which narrates the loyalty of Sītā to Rāmā provides a social ideal. On the other hand, Rādhā who is married to Ayana, and is in love with Kṛishṇa is a *parakīyā* heroine. This type of love is quite contrary to the norm of Hindu society, where chastity of woman and her loyalty to her husband are rigorously stressed. How is the love of Kṛishṇa and *gopīs*, who are married women, explained? While *Rāmāyaṇa* is pseudo-historical, and is designed to be a social ideal, Kṛishṇa *līlā* is symbolic and provides a spiritual ideal. God is above man-made morality and *bhakti* denotes passionate devotion to God in the person of his reincarnation as Kṛishṇa. When the *gopīs* desert their husbands and homes, thus abandoning the illusion of family and their duties, and follow Kṛishṇa, they perform the supreme sacrifice of which a woman is capable. "The desertion of husband and home by the milkmaids, which seems at first so foreign to Indian modes of thought, in reality became inevitably the accepted symbol of the soul's self-surrender to the heavenly bridegroom, just because such a sacrifice of status, duty and attachment, the casting away of name and fame and self-respect involved in adulterous or secret love, is the greatest sacrifice that a Hindu woman can imagine or make. In Vaishṇava poetry we hear the constant refrain, 'I am become a harlot for Thy sake'; this could not have been said in a society that regarded adultery lightly."[10]

Love of man and woman is the highest symbol of life. In the ecstasy of union, self is forgotten, joy is pin-pointed, and two become one. It was on this analogy of the relationship of Lover and Beloved that

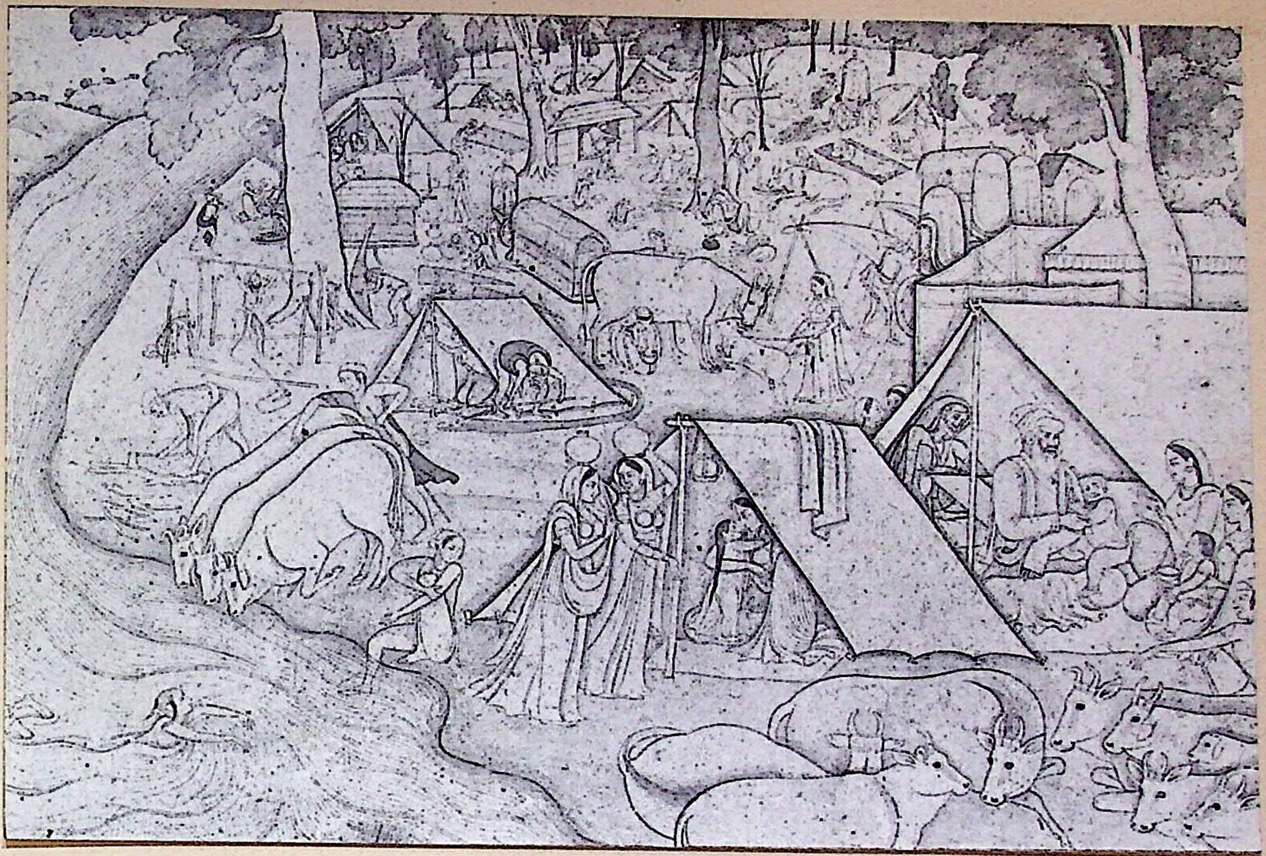


Fig. 8. The camp of Nanda and his followers on the bank of Jamunā

all spiritual experience was seen reflected. "In the language of human love Vaishṇava mystics found ready to their hands a most explicit vocabulary of devotion and of union. The ultimate essential of all such devotion is self-forgetfulness and self-surrender, the root of all division is pride and self-will, and therefore the drama of spiritual experience is represented by the love of man and woman."[11]

In Vaishṇava experience the Kṛishṇa *līlā* is an eternal reality. The *Rāsa Līlā*, the part of the story dealing with the love of Kṛishṇa with the *gopīs* of Vṛindāvana, is based upon eternal truth, the permanent relation between soul and God. The seat of this love-play is the heart of man. Gokula is the earthly counterpart of *Goloka*, the highest station of the plane of Vishṇu. The *līlā* is constantly performed in *Goloka*, which is a certain station of consciousness, and is reproduced over parts of the Temporal Universe according to the will of Kṛishṇa.

Apart from the spiritual significance, and esoteric meaning, the Kṛishṇa stories have created a dreamland to which people escape to forget the sordid realities of life. In these love stories they find a release for their pent-up emotions which they cannot satisfy in the real world. The world of Kṛishṇa provides them comfort and solace, and refuge from the world of suffering and frustration. The world of reality is full of pain. Men are so cruel to each other that they create a cycle of cruelty to satisfy their sadistic instincts. We escape from this world of cruelty and suffering to the world of love, the world of Kṛishṇa and his beloved *gopīs*.

CHAPTER III

Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The Kṛishṇa cult which inspired the poetry of Vaishṇava poets and mystics ultimately found expression in painting in Mughal, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Basohli and Kangra styles. The *Harivaṁśa* section of *Mahābhārata* was illustrated in Mughal style by the Hindu artists of Akbar, Basāvan and Mukund (*c.* 1595 A.D.), and these illustrations are included in the famous *Razmnāmā* paintings, now in the palace library of Jaipur. The eroded rocks leaning madly in the background, and the dervish-like figures wrapped in drapery with shaded folds introduce an exotic element which detracts considerably from the merit of these paintings. The earliest paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are in Gujarati style, and the manuscripts are dated 1598 A.D. and 1610 A.D. The earlier of these is in the Pothikhana collection of the Maharaja of Jaipur, and the other is in the Pustakaparkash collection in Jodhpur Fort. A series of paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* were prepared in the mid-17th century in Mewar at Udaipur and Chitor, under the patronage of Rāṇā Rāj Singh (1652-1680), an ardent Vaishṇavite who provided sanctuary to the image of Śrīnāthji at Siheda now known as Nāthadvārā.

In the last quarter of the 17th century the Basohli style of painting developed in the Jammu hills under the patronage of Raja Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1693). There are two complete series of illustrations to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in Basohli style or its offshoots painted in the 18th century.[12]

The finest paintings of Rādhā-Kṛishṇa in Rajasthan were painted at Kishangarh during the reign of Raja Sāvant Singh (1699-1764) by the artist Nihāl Chand during the period 1735-1757 A.D.[13] The Raja was inspired by the beauty of a courtesan, who on account of her fashionable attire, skilful coiffure and adornments, was called 'Bani Thani'. Sāvant Singh abdicated his throne in 1757 A.D., and accompanied by his mistress proceeded to Vṛindāvana, the land of Kṛishṇa where he spent the remaining years of his life. In these enchanting paintings the Raja is shown as Kṛishṇa and Bani Thani his poetess mistress as Rādhā. Surrounded by bevies of pretty maid-servants, the couple is shown making love in pavilions cooled by shooting fountains of water in which pairs of love-birds, *sāras* cranes and *chakoras* wander. Sometimes the lovers are shown sailing in a scarlet boat on a lotus-studded lake, or making love in secluded groves where 'life itself is conceived as a sort of listening — listening to music, to the sound of water, to time as it flies.' With their mystic glamour and sensuous beauty these paintings, no doubt, represent the most inspired expression of Kṛishṇa-Rādhā theme in Rajasthani painting.

The Kṛishṇa theme of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* found its supreme expression in the paintings of the Kangra School towards the close of the 18th century, and these are the paintings which form the subject-matter of this book.

The Kangra School was the discovery of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy who first exhibited some paintings of this school at Allahabad in 1910. Later on in his brilliant monograph on *Rajput Painting* (1916), he gave a delightful exposition of their cultural background. Coomaraswamy's sensitive appreciation of these paintings made an immediate impression on art lovers all over the world, and the Kangra School was recognised as of sufficient significance to have an honoured place in world art. For a long time to come, inspiring pages of his *Rajput Painting* will continue to give happiness to art lovers.

Following Coomaraswamy, a number of art lovers and scholars carried on patient research on the origin and development of Kangra painting. As a result of this work, the history of Kangra painting is no longer shrouded in mystery, and its outlines are now fairly clear. O. C. Gangoly (1926) published some exquisite specimens of Kangra painting in a folio entitled *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*. As he did not make an on-the-spot study, the provenance of a number of paintings is given incorrectly. N. C. Mehta (1926) in his *Studies in Indian Painting* published some beautiful specimens of paintings

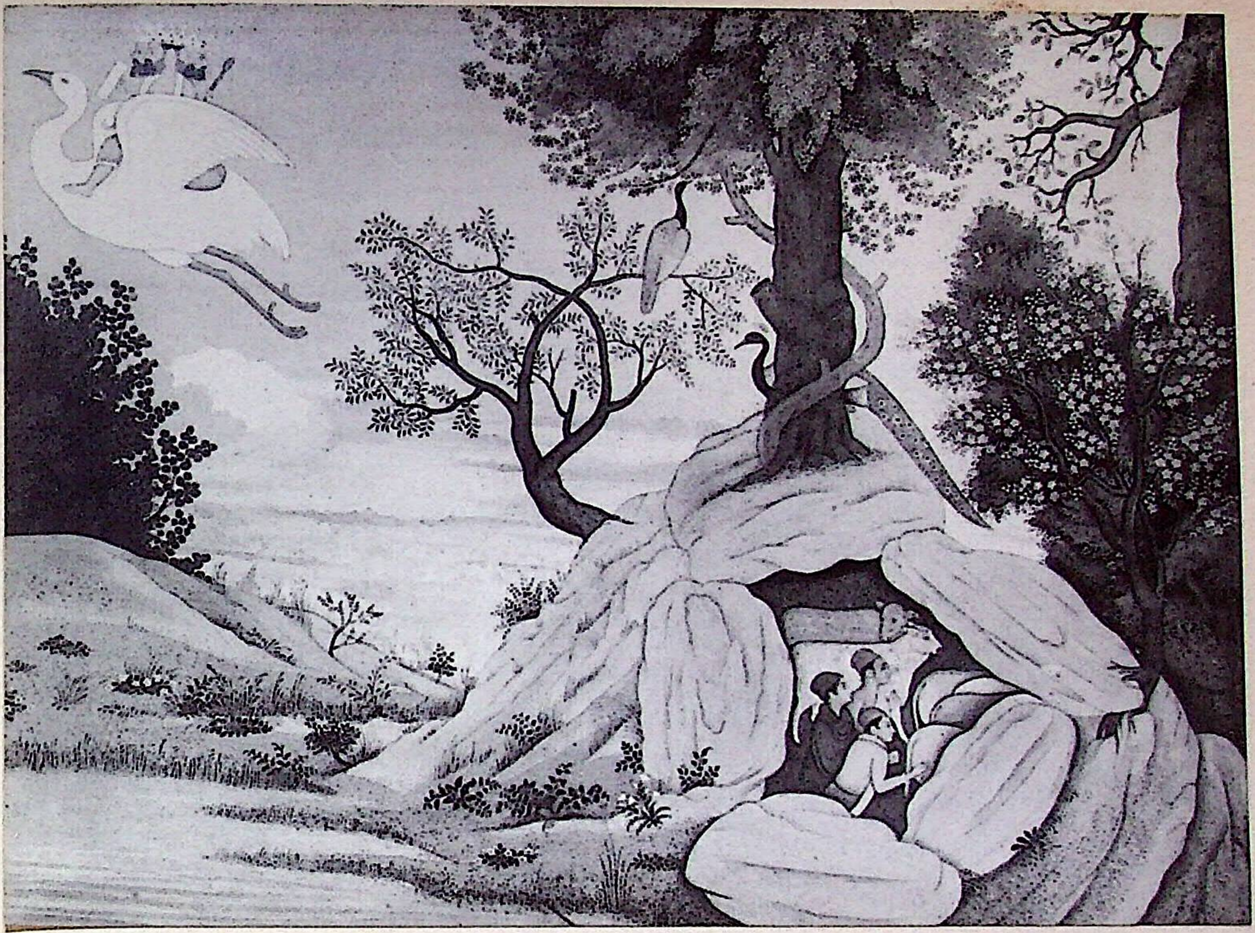


Fig. 9. Brahmā flying away after imprisoning the cowherds

of the *Gīta Govinda* series of the Kangra School which he, however, incorrectly ascribed to Garhwal School. J. C. French, a Bengal civilian, undertook a tour of the Punjab Himalayas in 1930 and saw the original family collections of the Rajas of Guler, Lambagraon, Mandi, Kulu, Arki and Chamba. His book, *Himalayan Art*, is not only a fascinating travelogue but has also proved to be of great value to scholars who followed him.

After a lull of about 32 years, interest in Kangra painting was revived by the publication of two important books by W. G. Archer in 1952, viz., *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* and *Kangra Painting*. Archer gave a brilliant and penetrating analysis of the various schools of Pahari painting in his *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, and he came to the conclusion that it was Haripur Guler which was the birth-place of Kangra painting in Kangra Valley. Following the clue provided by Archer, I explored the Kangra Valley and discovered the ancient family collections of the Rajas and Wazirs of Guler, Nurpur and Lambagraon. I visited Haripur Guler and collected information of great value from Raja Baldev Singh. Then I toured Changar area of Kangra Valley and saw Jaisinghpur the birth-place of Maharaja Sansār Chand, and Tira Sujanpur, Alampur and Nadaun where he lived and patronized his artists. At Lambagraon, I met Raja Dhruv Dev Chand, a descendant of Sansār Chand, and saw his collection of paintings. My researches confirmed the conclusions arrived at by Archer. Not only that the earliest paintings in Kangra style were painted at Haripur Guler during the reign of Govardhan Chand, but most of the living artists who now reside in the villages near Kangra trace their descent from the artists who once lived at Haripur Guler. The genealogies of the living artists provided information of great value on the school of painting which was generally regarded as anonymous. The portraits and family groups of the Rajas of Guler, particularly Govardhan Chand, Parkāsh Chand and Bhūp Singh are in a very refined style. These paintings provided clues to the provenance and dating of other paintings of the Guler School now scattered in various collections. In 1954, Archer and myself, accompanied by Dr. M. R. Anand, undertook a tour of the centres of painting in the Kangra Valley. This tour led to some important findings relating to the Nurpur School of painting about which very little was known. Karl Khandalavala (1958) summed up the research work which had been done so far in his monumental volume *Pahārī Miniature Painting*. Though some of his conclusions are based on sound logic and reasoning, many are based on preconceived ideas and suppositions. He made a faulty assumption that a school of painting flourished at Tira Sujanpur during the reign of Ghamand Chand (1751-1786) for which there is no evidence whatsoever excepting wishful thinking and conjectures. The term pre-Kangra invented by him is also misleading.

The birth of Kangra painting about the middle of the 18th century is a strange phenomenon in the history of Indian art. Prior to this, Kangra Valley could boast of no outstanding achievement in the field of art or literature, but from 1750 A.D. onwards it became the centre of a school of painting which has won a unique place in world art. What are the circumstances which led to the emergence of the Kangra style, which after Ajanta has been regarded as one of the greatest styles in Indian painting? It is now generally recognised that artists practising in Mughal style migrated from Delhi to the Punjab Hill States in search of security and employment, and there they developed what is now known as the Kangra style. How did it happen?

The first exodus of artists from Delhi to Basohli and Nurpur States took place in 1680-1690 A.D. during the reign of Aurangzeb whose puritanical zeal had dampened art activity in the city of Delhi. This led to the development of the Basohli School of painting which spread to a number of Hill States in Punjab and Jammu.

Nādir Shāh's invasion of North India and conquest of Delhi in 1739 led to the birth and development of the Kangra style in the Hill States of the Punjab and Jammu. The invasion of Nādir Shāh paralysed cultural life in the city of Delhi. It often happens that what appears like a disaster for a particular place is really a boon for some other area. This was particularly so in relation to the art of painting. What was a major calamity for the inhabitants of Delhi, ultimately led to the development of Kangra painting in the Punjab hills. Artists from the court of Delhi, many of whom were Hindus, sought refuge in the courts of the Rajput rajas of the Punjab and Jammu hills about this period. Some artists who were practising in Mughal style reached the court of Raja Govardhan Chand (1744-1773) of Haripur Guler, a prince with a refined taste and rare discrimination. An artist by the name of Nainsukh reached the court of Raja Balvant Dev, a minor Jagirdar of Jammu, and a dated painting of Balvant Dev (1748 A.D.) has been recorded. Nainsukh and his brother Māṇak were Kashmiri Brahmins who belonged to Jasrota in Jammu hills. It seems that they along with others in due course, drifted to the court of Govardhan Chand. This is proved from the large number of paintings of Govardhan Chand and his family members which are now available in various collections and which are in Nainsukh's style.

Art escaped from the musty atmosphere of the Mughal court of Delhi to the pure air of the Punjab hills. Here the artists were not required to paint flattering portraits of their masters, nor of princes and nobles drinking and making love to courtesans. The Mughal style with its gentle curves and flowing line ultimately achieved fulfilment in the charming landscape of Kangra Valley. The Mughal painting achieved a very high level in technique, portraiture and in the portrayal of courtly pomp and pageantry and hunting scenes. The portraits of the Mughal emperors and their queens and nobles are undoubtedly masterpieces, and are valuable as historical records. However, an art whose main concern is glorification of personal achievement could not have an abiding value. The amours of a degenerate nobility and trade in human flesh could create an art which can amuse, but not the great art which inspires humanity.

The technique of Mughal painting was used by the refugee artists to paint anecdotes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. All great art is inspired by religion, which is an emotion that lifts humanity from the earthly plane. The Kangra artists were not mere artisans, but inspired men who led a real religious poetical life and, as we may say, the life of Zen. This is one major factor which explains the high level of achievement which we see in Kangra painting as compared with Mughal painting.

The poetry of Jayadeva's great Sanskrit love poem *Gīta Govinda*, Bihārī's *Satsaiyā*, celebrating the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and poems by Keshava Dās on *Nāyaka-Nāyikās* and *Bārāmāsā* were their favourite themes. The translation of poetry into painting is a unique feature of Kangra painting. The background of poetry coupled with the flowing rhythmical line has given Kangra painting a lyrical quality. It may be aptly described as frozen music. It is an art which like Mozart's music casts a spell on you. The silent music of these paintings has a soothing quality, and in moments of severe mental distress you can turn to them for comfort. It is an art which pleases the mind and elevates the soul.

The ideals of womanhood which the Kangra painters had before them were Rādhā, Sītā, Pārvatī, Ushā and Damayantī, the Hindu ideals of female beauty—free, pure, luminous and intense. The human models the artists had before them were the slim and graceful women of Kangra whose descendants even now lend charm to the Valley.

Prakāsh Chand (1773-1820 A.D.) succeeded Govardhan Chand as the ruler of Guler. Like his father he too was interested in painting and was generous to a fault. It is said that he derived great pleasure from the sound produced by the tearing of cloth, and his main hobby was to get pieces of cloth, which were torn in his presence, distributed among the poor people of his State. He was a spendthrift and was heavily in debt. There is a painting in which he is shown along with his son in the company of Avatāra Brahmin, a money-lender. It is said that once a dispute arose regarding accounts between the Raja and the money-lender. It was decided to settle the dispute by an ordeal. Both the Raja and the money-lender tied one leg each to a *pipal* tree. After some time a branch of the tree suddenly fell upon the money-lender crushing his head while the Raja escaped unhurt. Though the Raja was vindicated, he still repaid money to the family of the deceased Brahmin money-lender. Prakāsh Chand was hardly interested in the administration of his State, and the State work was administered by his able minister Dhyān Singh, and later on by his son Tikkā Bhūp Singh. Prakāsh Chand also had cordial relations with Sansār Chand II of Kangra whom he visited frequently. There is a painting in the Punjab Museum, Patiala, painted at Nadaun in which they are shown together. Hence, it is likely that artists drifted to the court of Sansār Chand from Guler, possibly as early as 1780-1785 A.D. Prakāsh Chand abdicated in favour of his son Bhūp Singh in 1790 A.D., and died in 1820 A.D.[14]

Sansār Chand II (1775-1825 A.D.) was only 10 years of age when he succeeded his grandfather Raja Ghamand Chand as ruler of Kangra. He was the most renowned Raja who ever ruled in Kangra, and after Govardhan Chand and Prakāsh Chand was the most generous patron of the art of painting. William Moorcroft, the traveller who visited him in 1820 A.D. at Tira Sujanpur, mentions that he had a large collection of pictures, most of them representing the feats of

Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Thus we find that the original discoverer of Kangra painting was Moorcroft though he did not realise their artistic significance. He further mentions that Sansār Chand spent his evenings listening to Braja Bhāshā songs relating to Kṛishṇa. Sansār Chand was romantically inclined, and apart from his three queens from Suket, Sirmaur and Barā Banghāl he also inducted Nokhu, a Gaddan beauty. The Raja was out on *shikār* and passed through village Bandla, and at the fountain saw a beautiful woman filling a pot. Charmed by her beauty, he took her to his palace. As she was a married woman, he paid some compensation to her husband and got her released. The romance of the Raja and the Gaddan beauty is celebrated in Kangra folk songs, and is on the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa pattern, as Rādhā was also a married woman. In the last days of his life which he spent at Nadaun, Sansār Chand fell in love with a dancing girl whose name is given as Jamālo. The ruins of Jamālo's house are still pointed out to the visitors near the palace of the Raja at Nadaun. Nadaun was a gay place during the reign of Sansār Chand and there was a saying current in Kangra hills, 'Who will go away, once he comes to Nadaun?' This is explained by the fact that there were two hundred singing and dancing girls at Nadaun,[15] and whoever came under the spell of these enchantresses never thought of leaving Nadaun. Sansār Chand also built a temple near the *maidān* at Tira Sujanpur in honour of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. Kṛishṇa's grandson was Aniruddha. Sansār Chand also named his heir apparent as Aniruddha Chand. All these facts indicate what an ardent devotion Sansār Chand had for Kṛishṇa. The most beautiful series of paintings on the Kṛishṇa theme were also painted under the patronage of Sansār Chand, such as the paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Bihārī Lāl's *Satsaiyā* and Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda*. It was from the court of Sansār Chand after his decline that Kangra artists dispersed to the courts of the Rajas of Mandi, Kulu, Arki and Garhwal in the first quarter of the 19th century. Thus we find that the entire hill area, with Jammu in the west and Tehri Garhwal in the east, came within the sweep of the great style of painting known as Kangra *kalam*.

Kṛishṇa had a special appeal for the people in the hill areas of the Western Himalayas. He was closer to these simple farmers, foresters and herdsmen, and they regarded him as one of their own kind. Mothers adored Kṛishṇa as a naughty and playful child. Young boys adored him as a cowherd lad who played among the cowpens, tended calves and cows, and wore wreaths of leaves and wild flowers in the forest. The grown-ups worshipped him as the ideal lover and god. The divine youth Kṛishṇa led a glorious arcadian life in the forest, and legends surround him with all that makes existence beautiful: shady bowers, grassy swards, murmuring streams, exquisite viands and lovely women. Kṛishṇa and Rādhā are not only the symbols of God and his creation, of *purusha* and *prakṛiti*; they are also the symbols of Man and Woman, and Kṛishṇa *līlā* is their eternal love-play. The enchanting stories of Kṛishṇa and the milkmaids are the echoes of yearnings of young men and women who pass through similar experience.

The frolics and amours of the cowherd god Kṛishṇa were painted by the Kangra artists against the background of their native hills. In these paintings we do not find the flat and uninteresting plains of the Indo-Gangetic region, but the charming landscape of Kangra with lovely hills, winding streams, groves of mangoes and plantains, and green paddy fields in which love-sick cranes wander filling the air with the organ-like notes of their love-calls. It is a landscape of intoxicating beauty, suffused with love, which fills one's mind with ineffable joy.

We see deep love of Nature in the works of the Kangra painters. Kangra painting bears the impress of the characteristic landscape of the lower Beas Valley. Low undulating hills crowned with umbrella-like *pipal* and banyan trees, mango groves and farmers' homesteads buried in clump, of bamboos and plantains, and fresh water streams brimming with glacial waters of the Dhauladhars meandering through wave-like terraced fields. This is how Kangra Valley looks like, and it is the mellow beauty of this landscape which we find portrayed in the Kangra paintings. In a landscape of such loveliness, the sensitive soul of a true artist could hardly remain unaffected. Kangra art is inspired by mountains, rivers and forests, and the Kangra painters were in tune with their beautiful surroundings. Truly great art takes its birth when the spirit of man is in unison with the spirit of Nature. As Puran Singh observes: "The artistic expression of the soul-consciousness of a people is not so much in the nature of an acquired achievement as the spontaneous outflow of a spiritually rich self-realization. The true artistic consciousness or religious consciousness blossoms in its own inner beauty when the inner self of man and the outer self of Nature unite. Both partake of Reality which is beyond both."[16] From their portrayal of clouds and lightning, mountains, rivers and forests, one can see that the Kangra painters were able to achieve that harmony with Nature which is the fountain spring of all great art.

Folk motifs are freely painted by the Kangra artists, and their painting has roots in the rural life of the Punjab hills. Laurence Binyon rightly observes that "in the art of Kangra there is frankness and abandon, a spontaneous directness, which affects one like some of our own ballad-poetry, with its stock turns of phrases and its traditional refrains, but also its heart-piercing sudden sweetnesses. It is something unique in the world's art." This spontaneous directness and sincerity is the product of the soil. We see young lads swimming in rivers, playing hide and seek with monkeys and peacocks, and tending cattle in the forest. The Hindus regarded the animals also as children of the gods, who were entitled to enjoy the fullness of the earth, and the good gifts of heaven. Endowed with life, the greatest gift of God, they were not to be exterminated to serve our pleasure or to be abused for our profit, but were regarded as equal partners in the drama of life. Women going to the village well carrying pitchers are often shown. These are familiar scenes from the village life of Kangra in the 18th century. In painting anecdotes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the artists depicted everyday life in the villages of Kangra as they saw it. These artists realized that poetry is in everyday life, and it is the unregarded river of life which is so interesting. They drew upon it for inspiration as well as for themes for painting. They lived in harmony with their environment and realized identity in spirit and being with universal life. This explains their success as artists, and also gives an abiding value to their works. It is agricultural and pastoral life which has inspired truly great art in the world, and these are the fountain-springs of Kangra painting.

The flight of birds and the mating cries of love birds always had a fascination for the Indian mind. In these paintings we often see flights of snow-white *sāras* cranes against the background of slate-blue monsoon clouds, and peacocks raising their graceful necks shouting with joy hailing the rain clouds. Pairs of *chakoras*, the moon-partridges, who are supposed to drink moon-beams, and *papīhās*, the love-birds of Hindi poetry, are also depicted in these paintings. The chorus of these birds is enchanting during the spring, which is their rapturous season of mating and of love.

Thus, we find that the Mughal technique of painting, the inspiration of Vaishṇavism, the charm of Sanskrit poetry, the beauty of the people of Kangra Valley, and the lovely landscape of the Punjab hills, all these elements combined together gave us the art known as Kangra painting. These paintings move us profoundly, for they touch the deep springs of life.

Out of the Kangra paintings the most outstanding are the series on *Gīta Govinda*, Bihārī's *Satsaiyā*, Keshava Dās's *Bārāmāsā* and *Nāyaka-Nāyikā-Bheda*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. With the exception of the paintings on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the others are either in the collection of the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal or the Raja of Lambagraon, which indicates that they were painted under the patronage of Maharaja Sansār Chand. The paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series are more than 120 in number. The average size of each painting is 12″×8″. The inner border is blue-black, and the outer stippled in red (not reproduced in this album). The paintings of the *Rāsapañchādhyāyī* have a dark-blue border with a floral design in gold (Plates XIII-XVI). The paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are scattered in various collections. The largest collection of these paintings, about fifty, was with Mr. Jugmohandas Modi of Bombay, which has been recently acquired by the Government of India for the National Museum, New Delhi. Some paintings are in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, State Museum, Lucknow, Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, Punjab Museum, Patiala, Lahore Museum, or with private collectors like Srimati Madhuri Desai, Srimati Sumati Morarji, Mr. Alma Latifi of Bombay, Mr. F. D. Wadia, Poona, and Mr. Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta.

Who was the artist who painted the famous series of paintings illustrating anecdotes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*? One Chuniyā is mentioned as the painter of this series, but no details are known about him, and the information is not based on any sound evidence. Khandalavala believes that possibly they were painted by Kushan Lāl, whom he equates with Khushalā, son of Nainsukh. This assumption is also not supported by any evidence, and how a name like Kushan Lāl could be twisted into Khushalā is difficult for any one to understand who is familiar with the names of hill men. According to Baden Powell, there was in the employ of Maharaja Sansār Chand an artist by the name of Purkhu whose work was characterized by remarkable clearness of tone and delicacy of handling, though he was not so great a master of colour as many other artists inferior to him in other respects. These are qualities which characterize the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings, and Archer is of the opinion that they were painted by Purkhu. Though none of these paintings bears the name of Purkhu, from their masterly drawing and preference for green colour and subdued colouring as a whole, one can agree with Archer that they were possibly painted by Purkhu at Tira Sujanpur between 1790-1800 A.D. The landscape shown is very reminiscent of the country in the neighbourhood of Tira Sujanpur and Alampur, and some of the buildings depicted remind us of the town of Sujanpur and the ruined palaces of Sansār Chand on the hillock at the back of the town. Moreover, it is also a well-known fact that Sansār Chand was a devotee of Kṛishṇa, and he built a temple in his honour near the *maidan* at Sujanpur. Some of the drawings have many features in common with the Nala-Damayantī drawings described by Eastman (1959), e.g. architectural features such as palaces and pavilions, landscapes with rolling hills, and graceful feminine figures. Eastman has dated these remarkable drawings between 1810 and 1814. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings, however, seem to be earlier, and were painted during the period when Sansār Chand was the undisputed master of the Kangra Valley, and his decline had not started. On the balance it seems reasonably certain that the pictures of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* were painted in the period 1790-1806 A.D. at Tira Sujanpur.

Are these series of paintings the work of one or more artists? Describing the paintings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Archer observes: "It is rather in the use of an intensely fluid line that the artist of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* detaches himself from former Guler art. He reached, indeed, a new level of rhythmical exaltation while the use of shaded outline gives each of his compositions a luminous clarity which was nowhere else achieved in Kangra art."[17] Among these paintings is a series illustrating the *Rāsapañchādhyāyī*, the five chapters on *Rāsa Līlā*, in which the full moon of autumn is shown bathing the landscape in its phosphorescent light. Four paintings out of this series are reproduced in this album, viz., Plates XIII-XVI. Reiff (1959) has also reproduced one painting from this series in his *Indian Miniatures*. Archer is of the view that the paintings of this series were painted by a different artist, and on account of the skill with which he has painted moonlight, he calls him 'the master of the moonlight.'

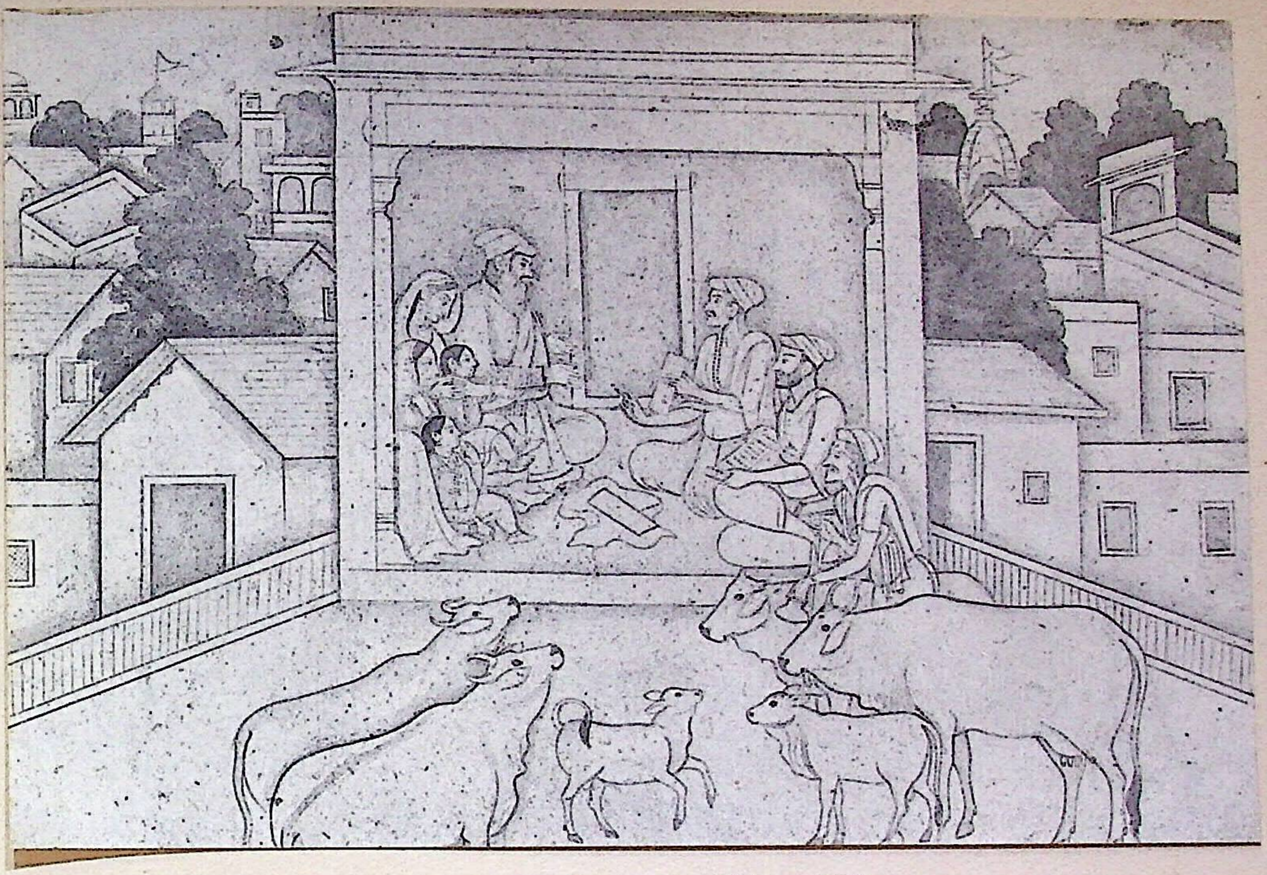


Fig. 10. Astrologer Garga naming Kṛishṇa and Balarāma

It is true that the treatment of women and vegetation is different in these paintings. The women are willowy and slender; their faces are decorated with delicate curls of downy hair, and their expression is serene and modest. Hanging down from the dark trees are long sprays of flowering creepers. The landscape backgrounds are of simple construction consisting of gently rolling hills covered with green grass and dotted with clumps of trees. The paintings in this series are also lacking in shaded outlines and possess floral borders in contrast to the plain dark blue borders so characteristic of the other paintings. Although, therefore, the facial formulae and the drapery of the *gopīs* are very similar to those in other paintings, it is possible that a second master-artist may have collaborated with Purkhu and produced the illustrations depicting the special moonlight scenes of the *Rāsa Līlā*.

The Hindu adoration of the cattle is evident in most of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings. The cows appear as partners of human beings in the drama of life and share their joys and sorrows. When the astrologer Garga forecasts the destruction of the tyrant Kaṁsa by Kṛishṇa, they listen with rapt attention while the calves frisk about with joy (Fig. 10). When Nanda and Yaśodā perform a *yajña* to celebrate the birth of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, apart from the Brahmin priests, the cows along with their calves also participate and stand in a row behind the priests who chant hymns and offer libations of *ghee* to the sacrificial fire (Fig. 3). When Kṛishṇa is attacked by the demon Bakāsura, not only the cowherd boys but the calves also charge the demon (Plate VI). When Kṛishṇa plays the flute in the forest, the cows also listen intently (Fig. 5). The most beautiful event of the day is the hour of cowdust, when the cows are driven home by Kṛishṇa playing the flute watched by admiring groups of women on their way to the river carrying pitchers to fetch water, or watching eagerly from the windows and balconies of houses. Eager and pushing cows jostling their way home lend charm to the street, and as Warris Shah, the author of the ballad *Hīr Rānjhā* describes:

> When they troop home, our tiny street
> Wears beauty like a diadem.

Apart from the paintings there are a number of line drawings of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the Punjab Museum, Patiala, and the Calcutta Museum. Some of these are reproduced here. Very likely these are the works of a different artist, who was superior in draughtsmanship to the artist of the paintings. These sketches are more animated, the study of cattle is more intimate, and the line more fluid. Nanda is shown with a longer beard though the style of clothes is the same as in the paintings. The background of the sketch showing Nanda and family consulting astrologers is very reminiscent of the town of Tira Sujanpur, capital of Sansār Chand (Fig. 10). The size of the line sketches is 12¼" × 8¼".

These paintings represent not one idea, but groups of ideas. As such, in each painting there are a number of compositions, each representing a separate picture. The method followed is of continuous narration with several successive incidents shown in one picture. All these compositions, however, centre round the personality of Kṛishṇa who provides the link for various events represented. In Fig. 5, for example, there are six groups — the boys playing with peacocks, Kṛishṇa playing the flute with a group of boys dancing, the group of cows in the foreground, boys chasing the shadows of flying cranes, a family of monkeys under a tree, and Kṛishṇa and Balarāma conversing in the cave.

One of the most beautiful of the series of sketches is 'Feast in the Forest' (Fig. 7), in which the entire scene is represented in a series of concentric circles. The purity, simplicity and continuity of the circle and its rippling beauty is well illustrated in this painting. The inner-most circle is of Kṛishṇa and his cowherd companions seated in a circular island in the river. The current of the river is shown by a series of parallel lines. The giant tree clasped by the coils of a liana balances the clump of trees on the bank of the river. The parallel lines of the circles suggest restfulness and peace, while the ascending lines of the tree suggest joy and vitality. The limpid harmony of this drawing, with the river waltzing around the island sanctified by the divine Kṛishṇa creates a feeling of bliss. Altogether this painting has a soothing quality, like the lilting melodies of Mozart's music.

Another sketch by the same artist shows Nanda and his followers camping on the bank of the Jamuna. They are halting on their way from Gokula to Vṛindāvana. How eloquently the bustling life of a herdsmen's encampment is depicted in this drawing! A young lad is joyfully swimming in the river, while cows are quietly drinking water. One man is hewing wood, while another is erecting the frame-work on which a tent is to be supported. Household chores like cleaning of utensils, churning of milk, cooking of meals and milking of cows are also depicted. Nanda and Yaśodā who are the central figures are playing with the children Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, while a flock of cows is resting contentedly outside the tent. In fact, in a small space so much is shown without creating the impression of crowding that one is filled with admiration at the skill of the artist (Fig. 8). In this drawing the artist has given us a glimpse of life in the villages of Kangra Valley in the closing years of the 18th century in an eloquent manner. All the facts are stated sincerely without inhibitions. In fact, it is the folk element in these drawings, with their naivete of expression which has a special charm for people who are familiar with the flowery glades of Kangra Valley and its simple people and their festivals.

These drawings also provide a clue to the charm and magnetism of Kangra painting. "A vigorous archaic outline is the basis of its language" observes Coomaraswamy. "Uncompromising as the golden rule of art and life, sensitive, reticent and tender, it perfectly reflects the self-control and sweet serenity of Indian life."[18] One marvels at the skill and steadiness of these artists, who with the aid of fine brushes have drawn these delicate curves without fear or faltering, and have in the process given us an art which has the rhythmic beauty of the dancing current of rivers, of climbers tenderly clasping the trunks of the giant trees of the forest, and of love-birds making music in their branches.

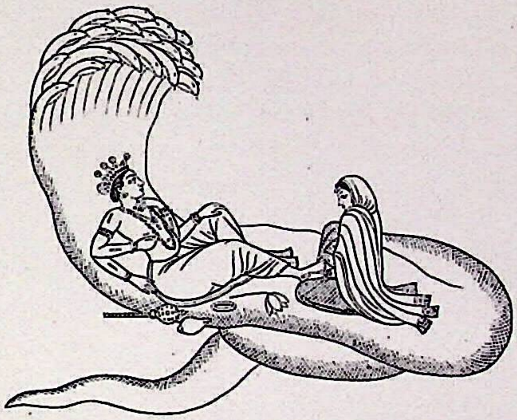


PLATE I

The Adoration of Vishṇu

Ugrasena, the king of Mathura, had a beautiful and faithful wife named Pavanarekhā. One day while she was taking air in a forest, she was raped by a demon named Drumālika, an incarnation of Kālanemī, the enemy of Vishṇu. The child born was Kaṁsa. As soon as he grew up, Kaṁsa deposed his father and became king of Mathura. He began to oppress all worshippers of Vishṇu, and on account of his wickedness and cruelty even the patient Mother Earth groaned. The Earth assumed the form of a cow, and went complaining to the celestial region and requested Indra for help. Indra having heard her, went to Brahmā, taking all the gods with him. Brahmā conducted them all to Śiva. Śiva taking Mother Earth and all the gods proceeded to the shore of the Ocean of Milk, the abode of Vishṇu.

Brahmā approaching Vishṇu, composed his mind in meditation, and thus gave praise to the Highest Being, "Adoration to the Infinite One, who is simultaneously the manifestation, the preservation and the dissolution of the universe! Thou art subtle beyond all discovery of the senses. Thou art prodigious in thine essence. Thou art of everything the root. Thou bringest forth spirit — that primal substance from which arose and arise speech and the senses. O Thou Highest of All, have mercy. Here, seeking in Thee her refuge, comes the Earth. Thou end without end, beginning without beginning, final refuge of all beings, the goddess begs of Thee redemption from her burden. Demons, earthborn, are shattering her rocky sinews. Indra, myself, and all the gods, beseech of Thee Thy counsel: tell us, O Lord and Essence of our Immortality, tell us what we must do."

Vishṇu plucked two hairs from his head, a fair and a dark one, and then addressed Himself to the assemblage on the shores: "These two hairs of my head shall descend to the Earth and take away her burden. All the gods, too, shall go down to her, each in a portion of his essence, and rescue the Earth by conquest of the demons. There is a certain princess, Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, and she is like unto a goddess among men. This dark hair of mine is to become the eighth fruit of her womb. I shall descend into her and be born of her, and shall kill again the demon Kālanemī, in his present incarnation, Kaṁsa."[19] Vishṇu vanished, and the gods, falling to their knees, paid homage to the Invisible. Then all descended from the summit of Mount Meru.

The four-headed Brahmā and the ascetic Śiva, carrying a trident accompanied by *ṛishis* and *munis* with their eyes closed, are lost in meditation. Indra, with *yoni*-marks on his body, is lying prostrate with folded hands. In the foreground is Mother Earth in the form of a cow. Vishṇu resting on the serpent Śesha is shown in the Ocean of Milk. This painting has an atmosphere of reverence and devotion, and must have been painted by the artist in a religious ecstasy.

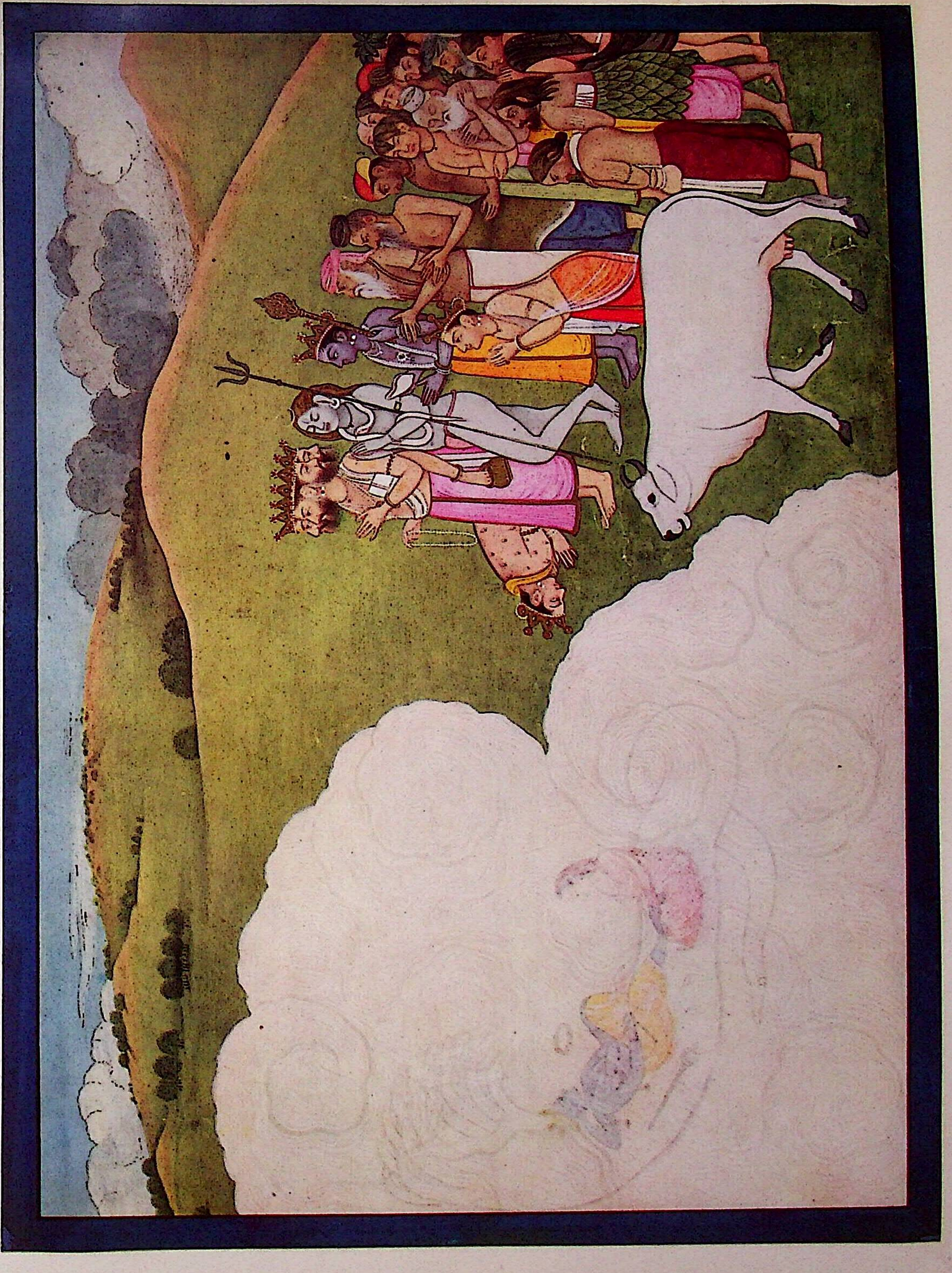


PLATE II

The Birth of Kṛishṇa

Ugrasena had a brother whose daughter, Devakī, was married to Vasudeva, son of Śūrasena. It was foretold that a son of Devakī would destroy Kaṁsa. To forestall his doom, Kaṁsa kept Vasudeva and Devakī confined in a prison in his palace and ensured that the first six children whom Devakī bore were put to death. When she conceived her seventh child it was miraculously transferred from her womb to that of Rohiṇi who was Vasudeva's second wife. This child was Balarāma who was later to be Kṛishṇa's constant companion. Devakī's eighth child was Kṛishṇa. At the time of his birth the palace prison was filled with a radiance. The child was cloud-coloured, moon-faced, lotus-eyed, girdled with a robe of yellow silk, wearing a five-element necklace and a golden crown; his four arms were holding the conch-shell, the discus, the lotus and the club. On seeing him, Vasudeva and Devakī worshipped him with folded hands for they realized that he was an incarnation of Vishṇu. The prison guards fell into a profound slumber. Vasudeva put the child into a winnowing basket and proceeded towards Gokula (Fig. 2). A storm was raging and the Jamuna was in flood. Carrying the child Kṛishṇa, Vasudeva entered the river. As the water rose, Kṛishṇa stretched forth his foot, the flood receded and the river became fordable.

It was a dark night, vast, deep and black, lighted by large soft stars. A strange silence was brooding over Gokula which was broken only by the howls of jackals and the ceaseless thrill of crickets. Vasudeva quietly entered the house of Nanda and saw Yaśodā, his wife, in deep sleep with her new-born daughter by her side. He exchanged Kṛishṇa with the little girl and left for Mathura (Plate II). Yaśodā had no remembrance that she had given birth to a daughter, and when she awoke and saw the infant Kṛishṇa by her side, she rejoiced that the gods had granted her wish and given her a son.

Night is shown admirably in this painting. Kangra artists have depicted night scenes with great skill and this is a good example of their mastery of night scenes. The sleeping cowherds in the houses adjoining Nanda's create a midnight atmosphere and one can almost feel the hush and silence of the night.

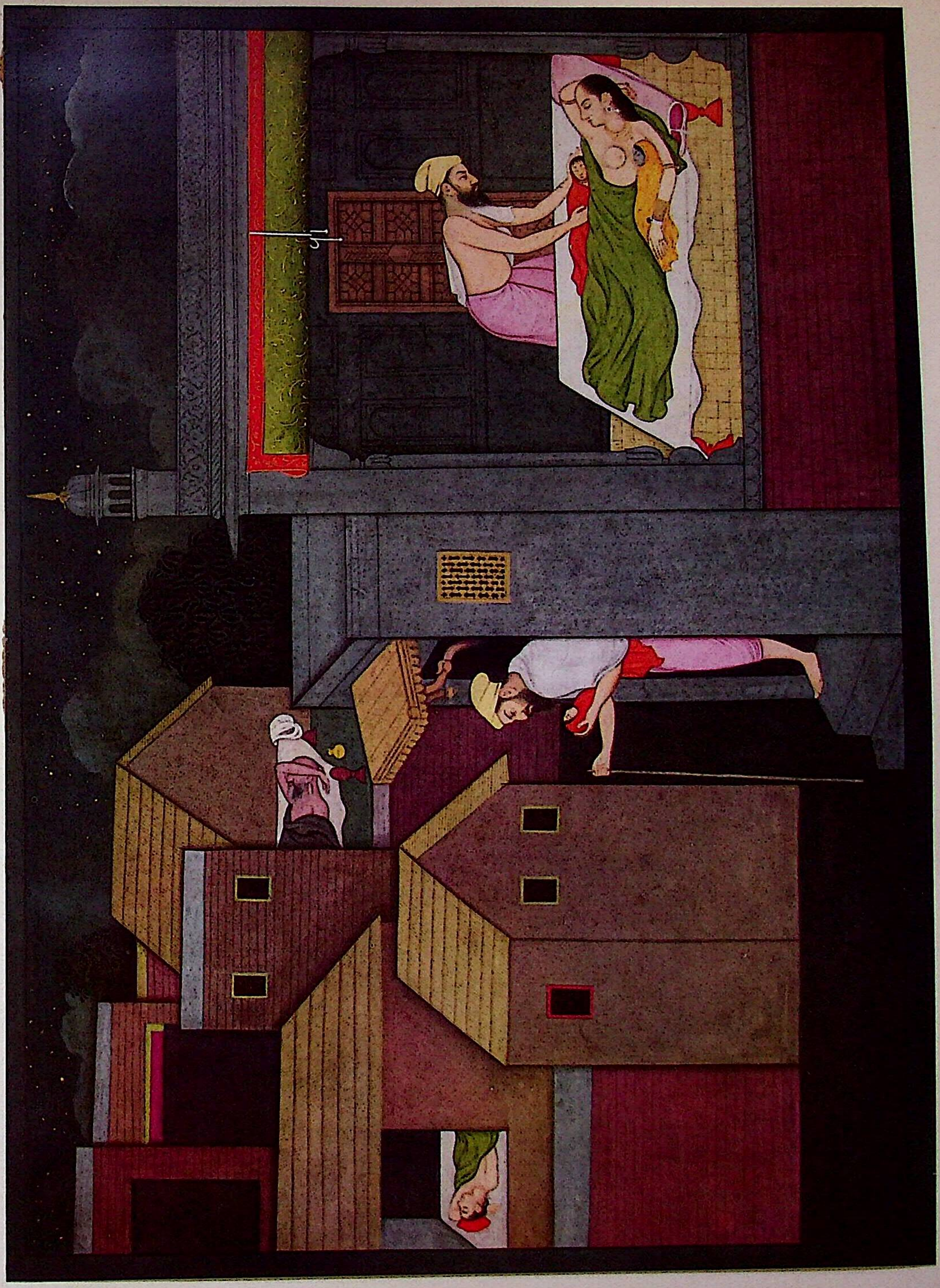


PLATE III

Kṛishṇa Stealing Butter

Kṛishṇa was a naughty child full of pranks which were at once the despair and delight of his mother and the neighbouring housewives. One day Yaśodā was churning curd. At that time, in the house of Nanda, such a noise of curd-churning was going on, as though a cloud were thundering. Hereupon Kṛishṇa woke up and started crying and calling out, 'Mother, Mother.' When nobody heard his cries, he himself came to Yaśodā and said, "Mother, I called you several times, but you did not come to give me breakfast; is not your work done yet?" Thereupon Yaśodā fondled him and gave him bread and curd to eat. Just then the milk in the kitchen began to boil over, and Yaśodā ran to attend to it. Taking advantage of her absence, Kṛishṇa and his companions helped themselves to the butter.

The artist has shown the movement of Yaśodā in a very realistic manner. As she runs to the boiling milk-pot, the *dupaṭṭā* slips from her head. The *kurtās* worn by the children as well as the drapery of Yaśodā are very colourful. This is undoubtedly a masterpiece out of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series of paintings.

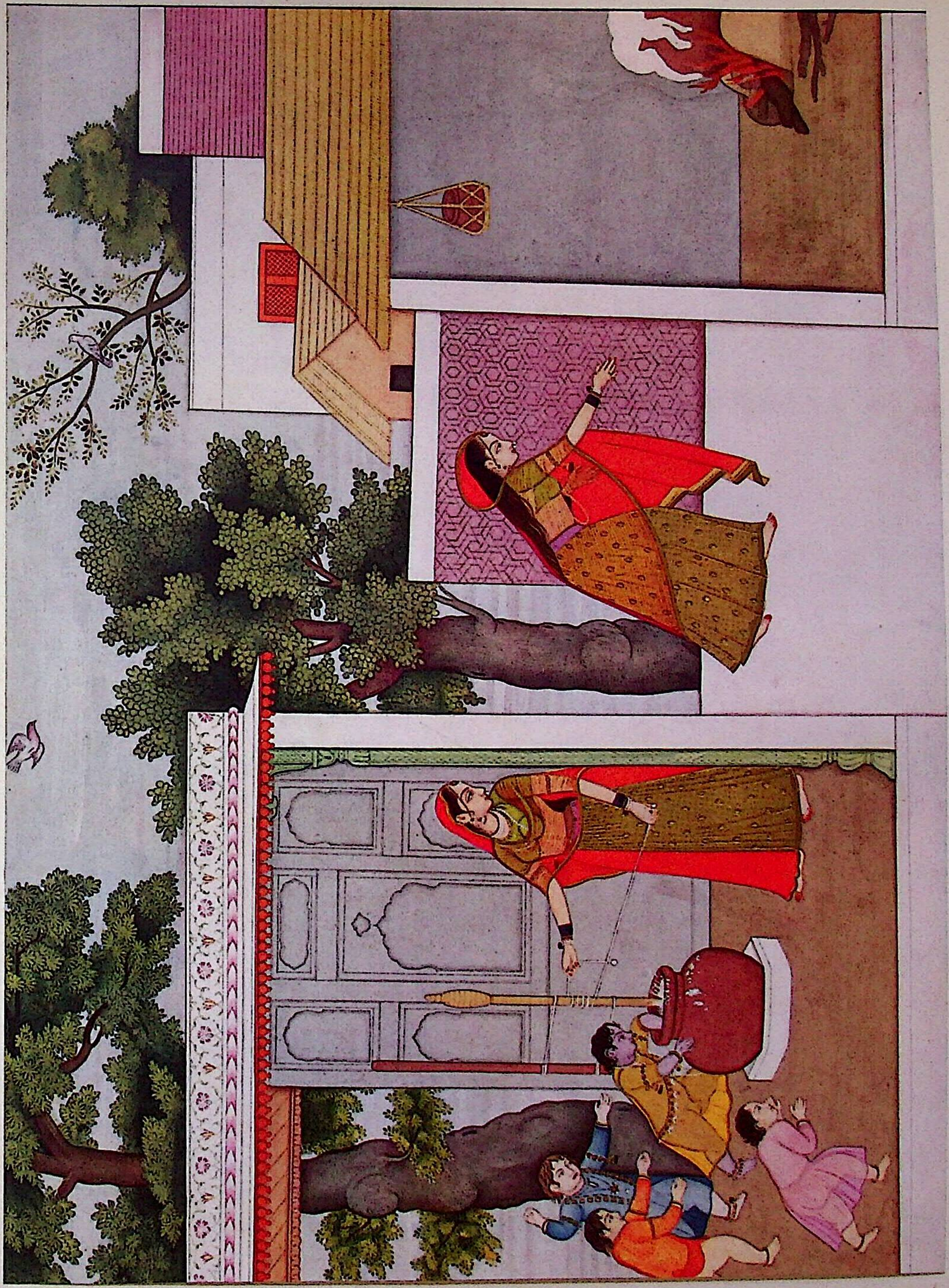


PLATE IV

The Salvation of Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva

After stealing butter, Kṛishṇa broke the vessels of curd and buttermilk. Snapping the churning stick and taking a pot full of butter he ran out to play with the cowherd boys. He found a mortar placed upside down, on which he mounted and sat, and causing his companions to sit around, he began to chuckle and share with them the butter. The monkeys and cowherd boys had a hearty feast over the butter and spilt butter-milk. On discovering what had happened, Yaśodā chased Kṛishṇa, and threatened to beat him. She decided to tie him with a rope to the mortar. However, the rope was not long enough, and was found to be two inches short. She joined another rope to it, and then another, but every time it was found to be a little short. Taking pity at the exertion of his mother, who was perspiring, Kṛishṇa allowed himself to be tied to the mortar. After tying him Yaśodā returned to her domestic duties.

In the courtyard of the house were two *arjuna* trees. Kṛishṇa managed to crawl between the trees along with the mortar to which he was tied, and gave a jerk uprooting the trees. Out of the trees emerged Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva, sons of Kubera, who on account of their pride had been transformed into trees by the curse of the sage Nārada. Hearing the crashing of the trees, the cows broke their ropes in panic, and Nanda, Upananda and Yaśodā as well as the neighbours all hurried to the place. The two *siddhas*, rid of their sin, circumambulated and bowed to Kṛishṇa tied to the mortar, and taking their leave left for Alakā in the Himalayas.

The panic created by the crashing of the trees is shown in a dramatic manner. Balarāma is pointing towards Kṛishṇa tied to the mortar and their foster parents are expressing a sense of relief that he has not been injured. Tied to the mortar Kṛishṇa is showing his resentment to Nanda for the manner in which he had been treated. To the right are Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva standing with folded hands expressing their gratitude to Kṛishṇa.

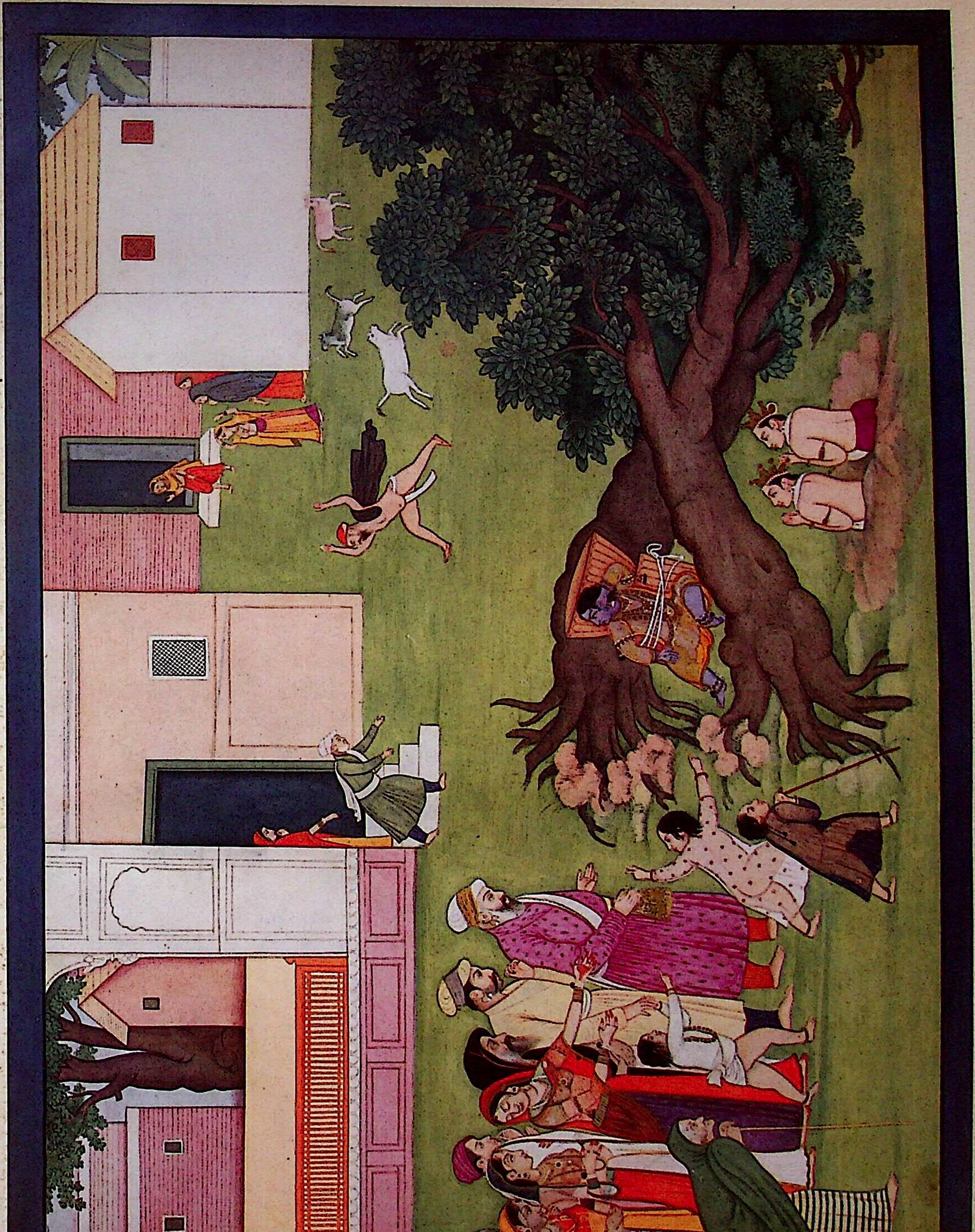


PLATE V

Migration from Gokula to Vṛindāvana

At Gokula Nanda thought that Kṛishṇa was not safe. Kṛishṇa had killed the demoness Pūtanā, the demon Śakaṭāsura and the whirl-wind demon Tṛiṇāvarta at Gokula. Harassed by the demons, Nanda decided to migrate to Vṛindāvana. Seated in a chariot drawn by two powerful white bullocks, he headed the procession followed by Yaśodā and Rohiṇī with the children Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. The cowherds and their women-folk followed with their goods and cattle.

This painting gives us a glimpse into the life of the farmers and herdsmen of Kangra Valley in the 18th century. The dignified old man in the leading chariot with red canopy, who appears like a Mughal nobleman, is Nanda. He is followed by Yaśodā and Rohiṇī with the children Kṛishṇa and Balarāma in the second chariot. Surrounding them are the herdsmen with their wives and children. The man dressed in a green cloak, wearing side-locks and holding a churning stick is leading the cavalcade. He is followed by another, naked up to waist with a sickle thrust into his *dhotī*. The agricultural implements shown are sickles and *kahi* (a type of spade). Spinning wheels, a cotton hand-gin, churning sticks, baskets and pots of different shapes and sizes are also depicted. Apart from the tuft of hair on the head, side-locks were also worn by the boys in that age. One of the boys wrapped in a dark blanket is carrying a bow. Such bows are even now in common use in the Valley. In the background are two huge lichen-stained boulders. This is a prominent characteristic of Kangra Valley where such boulders are strewn all over. On one of the boulders a pair of *chakoras* is shown.

The manner in which the picture has been painted, the golden background and the splendour of costumes shows that the artist was conscious of the grandeur of his theme. There is an atmosphere of calm and dignity in this painting, and the confidence of Nanda is also shared by his followers. In the distance are stately forest trees with their feet washed by the current of the blue Jamuna.

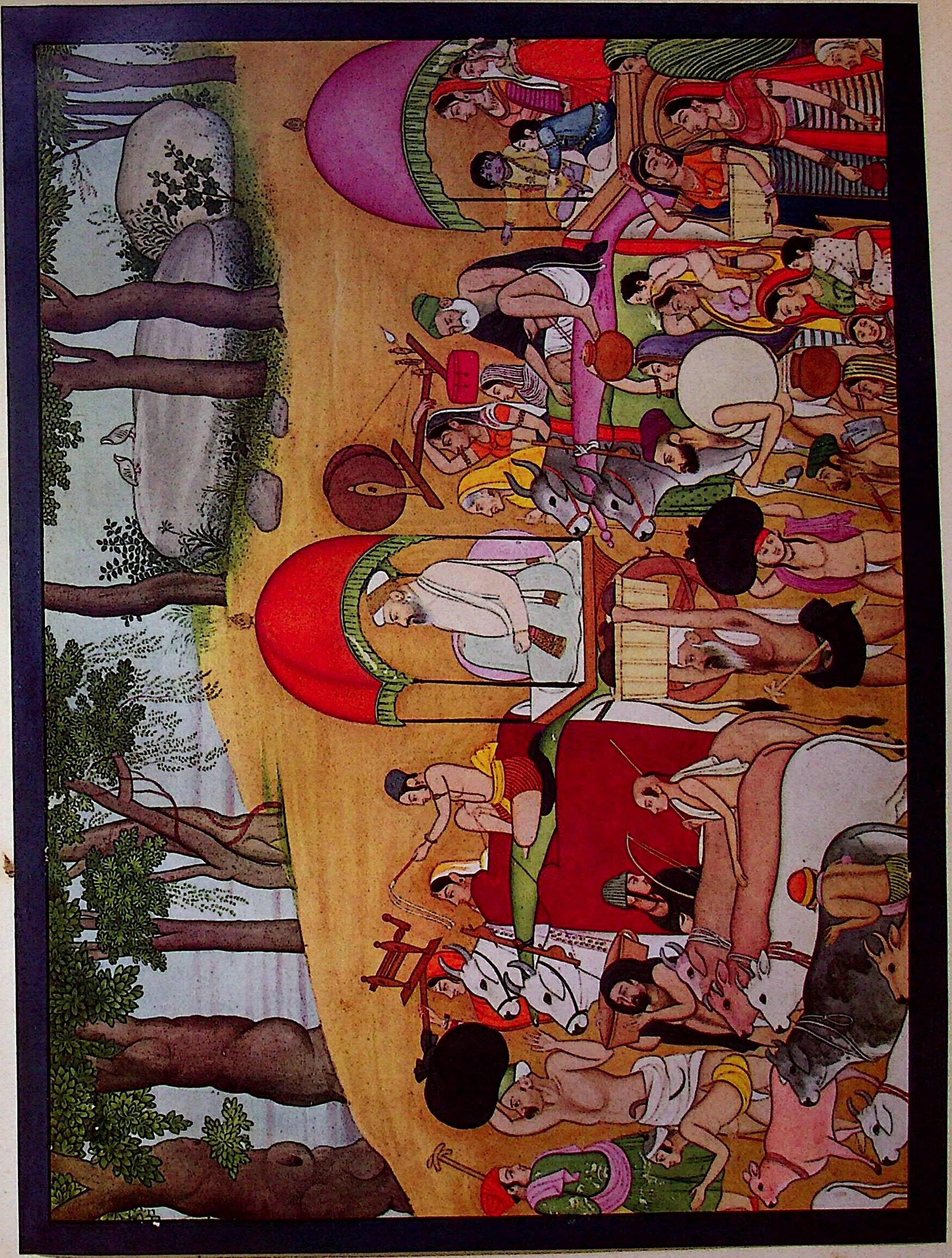


PLATE VI

Kṛishṇa Slaying Bakāsura

Kaṁsa sent Bakāsura, a demon in the form of a giant crane, to destroy Kṛishṇa. Finding a suitable spot on the bank of the Jamuna, Bakāsura arranged his ambuscade and lay in wait for Kṛishṇa. From a distance he appeared like a white mountain and the cowherd boys were frightened when they saw him. When Kṛishṇa approached him, he lifted him in his beak. The cowherds were greatly alarmed and shouted to Balarāma for help, but he was nowhere to be seen. Seeing the distress of his companions, Kṛishṇa heated himself by his divine energy. He became so hot that Bakāsura could not hold him in his beak any longer and disgorged him. The cowherds rushed to his help and even the calves charged the demon. Kṛishṇa pressed the beak of the *asura* with his foot and tore it asunder.

In this painting the story is told in two parts. On the left Bakāsura is shown holding Kṛishṇa in his beak, and on the right Kṛishṇa is depicted tearing the beak of the giant bird, while the cowherd boys are rushing to his help armed with sticks, and even the calves are charging the *asura*. In the background is the placid Jamuna with water birds sporting.

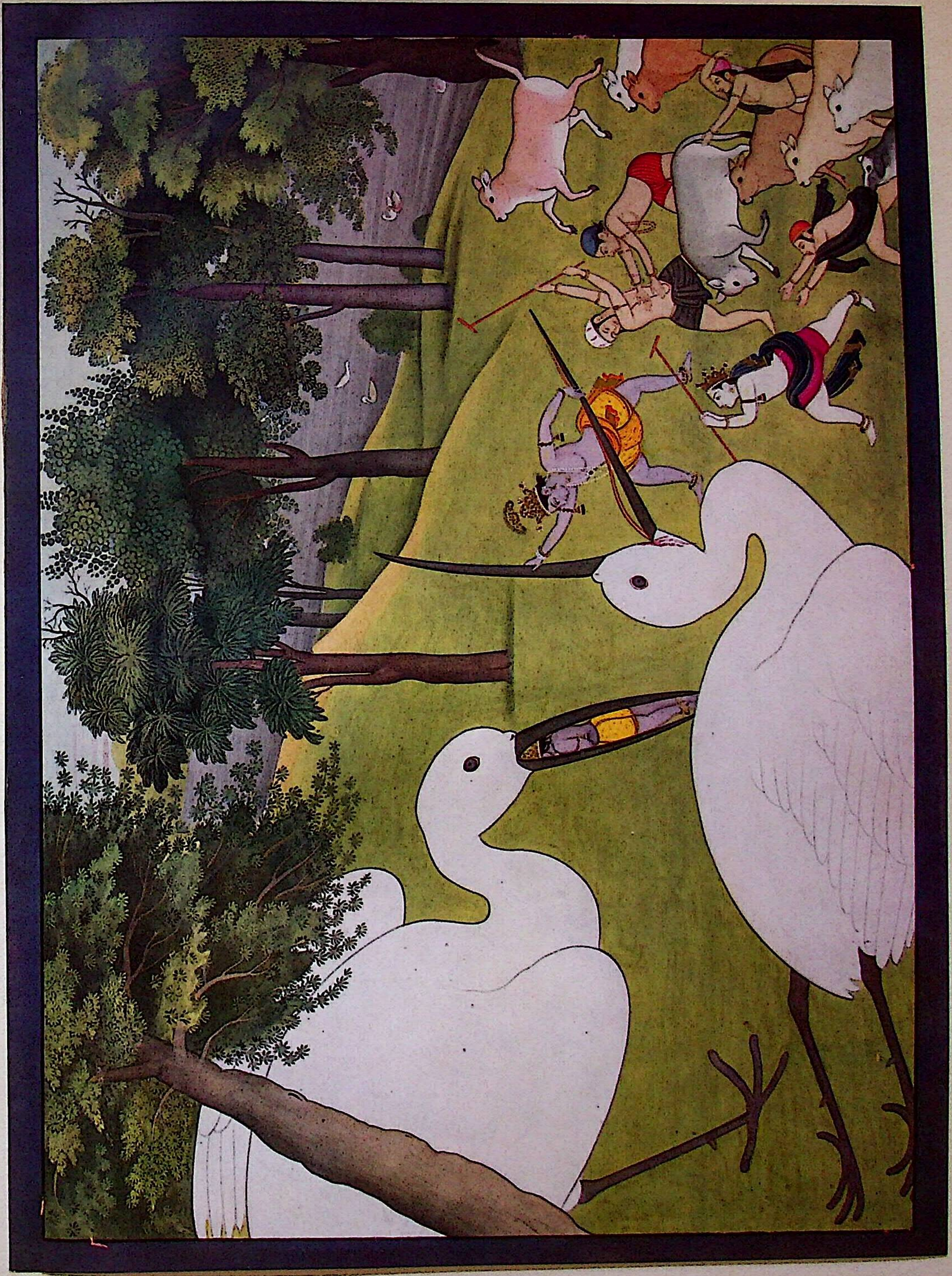


PLATE VII

Cows Rushing to Meet the Calves

One morning Kṛishṇa with his companions was grazing cattle in the forest. The cowherd boys played with the shadows of the flying cranes. Some stood still like storks and herons and others mimicked peacocks. Some climbed the trees with the monkeys, while others danced to the tune of Kṛishṇa's flute (Fig. 5). After the games the boys felt hungry. They found an island of clear sand enclosed by a bend of the river shaded by a giant *kadamba* tree twined by a creeper. Bumble bees hovered over the lotuses and birds flew in the branches. Graceful branches of the willows swayed in the morning breeze. Cowherd boys sat around Kṛishṇa and the assembly looked like a lotus with Kṛishṇa as its centre. They made plates out of the leaves of the *palāsha*, and feasted merrily. In that assembly Śri Govinda appeared as beautiful as the moon among the stars (Fig. 7).

When the feast was going on in the forest, Brahmā and other gods were looking from the sky. Brahmā decided to test whether Kṛishṇa was an incarnation of Vishṇu. When the boys were feasting, Brahmā drew away the calves and after putting them to slumber shut them up in a deep cave. When the feast was over, the cowherds were alarmed to find the calves missing. Kṛishṇa went in search of the calves and in his absence Brahmā took all the cowherds and throwing them into deep sleep shut them up along with the calves in the same cave (Fig. 9).

Kṛishṇa recreated the calves and the cowherds in illusory forms, and in the evening the same number of calves were driven into the village as had left it in the morning for grazing. On seeing the calves, the cows, the white, the dark, and the spotted, were so overpowered with love that forgetting themselves they rushed lowing and snorting with their tails uplifted. At that time there was such beauty as if clouds of various colours might have collected. The cowherd boys were also fondled by their mothers who did not realize that their real sons were fast asleep in a cave.

This painting is an excellent illustration of mother love, mysterious, self-sacrificing and holy. The cows are mad with love for their calves. In the verandah of a hut a mother is fondling her son. A young woman clasping the trunk of a tree is watching a young calf sucking milk from the udder of the cow who is affectionately licking him. In the background are women carrying pitchers of water from the village fountain, two farmers wrapped in dark blankets, and one carrying a leaf umbrella are returning home. In the horizon are curly cumulus clouds tinted with gold. It is thus that the Vaishṇava inspiration illumines the field and village life of India and discovers in everyday events the image of events in heaven.

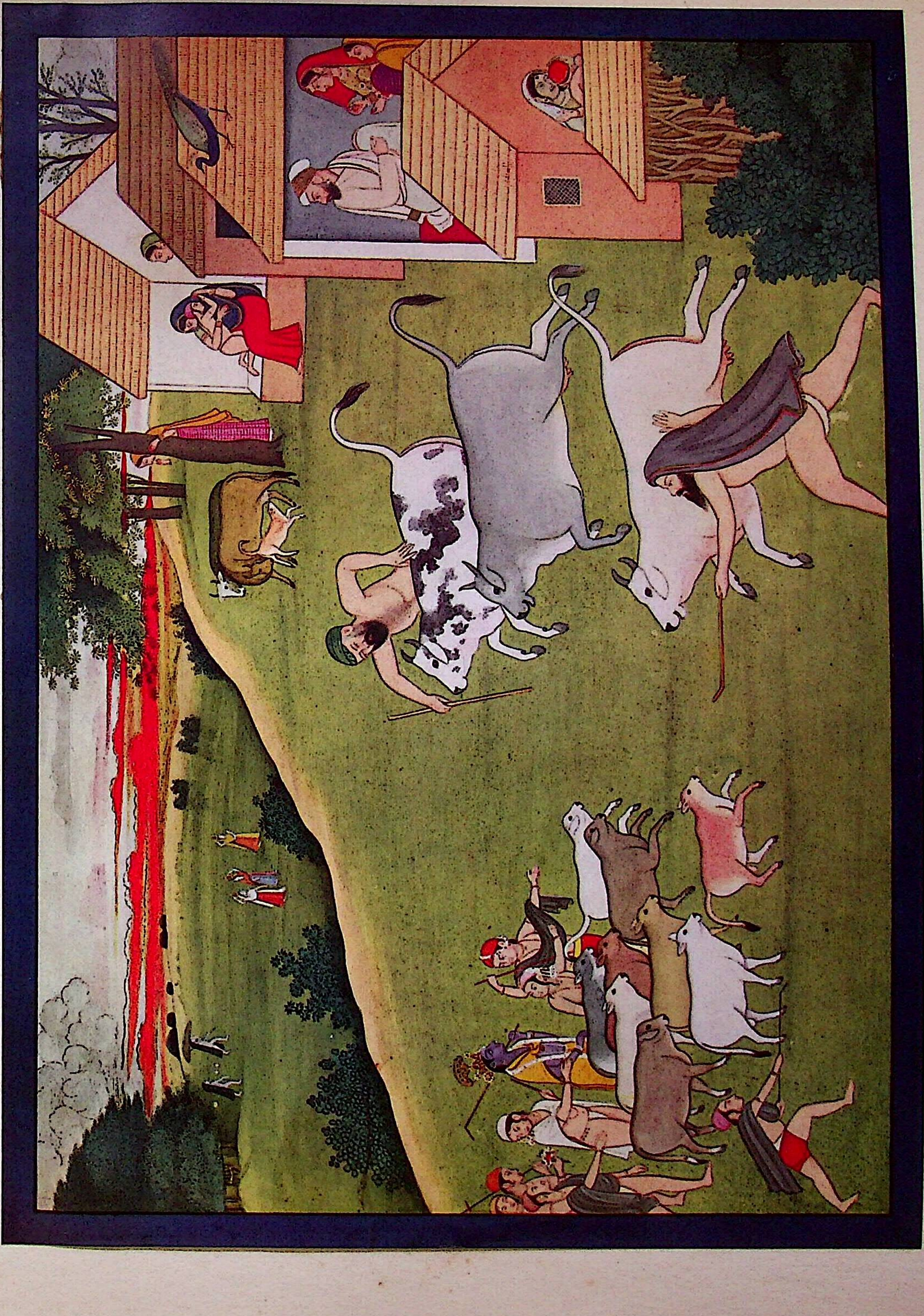


PLATE VIII

Brahmā Begs Pardon of Kṛishṇa

Later Brahmā saw that each of the cowherds was clothed in a yellow *pītāmbara*, carried a flute and wore a peacock crown. Behind each he saw a vision of four arms with hands holding conch, lotus, discus and mace. Brahmā was satisfied that the cowherd was none else but Vishṇu himself. Mounted on his vehicle, the swan, Brahmā came to Kṛishṇa and begged pardon. Falling on his feet he said: "O Lord! you have acted very kindly in that you have removed my pride which had clouded my judgment. In whom is there such intelligence that, without your compassion, he may understand your actions? By your illusion everything is fascinated; who is he that may fascinate you? You are the creator of all; in each hair of your body many Brahmās such as me are lying. Of what account am I? Compassionate to the humble! now mercifully forgive transgression and take no heed of my fault." Kṛishṇa pardoned Brahmā, and mounted on his swan, feeling humiliated at his disgrace, Brahmā hastened to the cave and released the boys and the calves (Plate VIII).

The entire story is told in four parts in this painting. In the background are the cowherd boys feasting, created by Kṛishṇa by his illusory power. In the foreground is Brahmā falling at the feet of Kṛishṇa begging pardon. To the left he is shown riding the swan, proceeding to the mouth of the cave to release the calves and the boys. In the centre and to the right are the boys and the calves after their release from the cave. The undulating green hills with clumps of trees and white egrets ambling gracefully provide a pleasant background to the final scene of the triumph of Kṛishṇa.

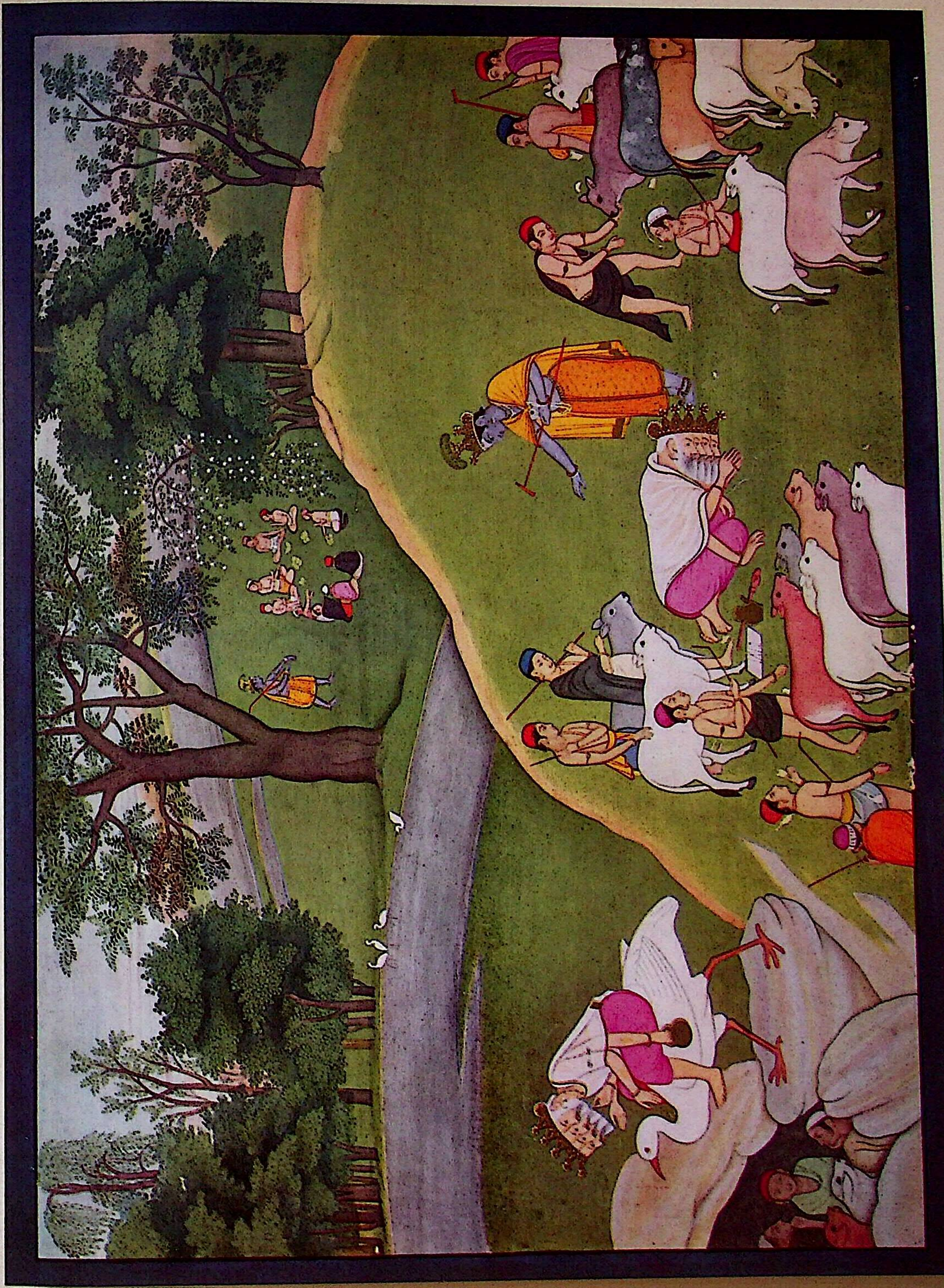


PLATE IX

Quelling of Kāliya Nāga

There was a whirlpool in the Jamuna known as Kālidah, which was a favourite haunt of the poisonous King of Serpents, Kāliya Nāga. Such was the poison spread by the serpent that nothing could remain alive near the bank of the whirlpool whose water continually boiled. The only living thing near it was a stately *kadamba* tree on whose branches Garuḍa, the enemy of the serpent race, had once perched. One day Kṛishṇa accompanied by cowherd boys came to the bank of the Kālidah with a herd of cows. As soon as they reached the shore of the whirlpool, the cows fainted and the cowherds were also stupefied by the poison of the Nāga. When Kṛishṇa saw the cows lying half dead with their feet towards the sky, and the cowherds in swoon, he decided to end their agony for good. Placing his yellow *pītāmbara*, white garland, stick and peacock-crown on the trunk of the *kadamba* tree, he climbed into the branches and threw a ball into the pool. Disturbed by the falling of the ball, Kāliya's hundred heads began to quiver with rage. Kṛishṇa leaped into the whirlpool and when the serpent saw him, it coiled itself around him and tried to bite him, but his poison-fangs snapped one by one.

On seeing Kṛishṇa in such a danger, Yaśodā was in great agony and tried to jump into the river. She was restrained with great difficulty by two of her women companions. Kṛishṇa began to swell his body and thus loosened the hold of the serpent. Then he mounted on the Nāga's cluster of heads and began to dance triumphantly, assuming the weight of the Three Worlds. When the poison and the pride of strength were gone, Kāliya perceived in his heart that "the Primal Male has assumed incarnate form; otherwise, in whom is there so much power that he should escape from my posion?" Having realized this, he abandoned the hope of life, and remained benumbed. Then one of the serpent's wives, joined her hands and said, "Mahārāj! have compassion on me and please release this one; otherwise, slay me also along with him; for death itself is excellent for a woman without a husband." Kṛishṇa pardoned the Serpent King and banished him to Ramaṇaka Dvīpa, an island in the Indian Ocean.

The painting is in three parts: Kṛishṇa jumping from the tree, Kṛishṇa in the coils of the snake, and Yaśodā and her companions on the bank of the river. The agitation in the water of the pool is shown in a remarkable manner and one can almost hear the hissing of the angry snake. The violent anxiety of the women-folk on the shore of the pool is eloquently depicted. Yaśodā, wearing a red *dupaṭṭā*, is being held by a woman wearing a yellow wrap, and another one wearing a blue *dupaṭṭā* is holding her back by the arm. A woman is weeping by the yew tree and another one is showing her distress by throwing out her arms. Yet another is peering into the pool and is weeping. The confidence and courage of Kṛishṇa struggling in the coils of the giant snake provide remarkable contrast with the distress of the women-folk. The peach tree with pink blossoms in a corner lends a gay note to the painting though its theme is grim. The entire scene is framed between two trees, the giant *kadamba* on the left, and the yew on the right. This is the only solitary example in Kangra painting where a yew tree is painted.

PLATE X

Kṛishṇa Swallows the Forest Fire

Kṛishṇa was grazing the cows in the forest with Balarāma and other cowherd boys. God Agni was annoyed with Kṛishṇa, as he was not receiving his accustomed worship. He, therefore, decided to humble Kṛishṇa. He, accordingly, raised a tremendous forest fire. The cowherds were greatly alarmed and the cows ran helter-skelter. Birds flew high up in the air, snakes writhed in agony, and all living things tried to escape the scorching flames. The cows — the white, the dun, the black, the grey and the spotted — herded together and looked helplessly towards Kṛishṇa. The flames of the fire consumed the forest trees with their red tongues. When they saw the conflagration closing in upon them, the cowherd boys shouted to Kṛishṇa for help. Kṛishṇa asked them to shut their eyes. When they shut their eyes, Kṛishṇa, in the twinkling of an eye, drank up the fire.

The panic created by the fire among birds and animals is graphically depicted in this painting. On one side is a herd of panic-stricken cows and on the other is the group of frightened cowherd boys. Between the two stands Kṛishṇa, confident and courageous, sucking in the conflagration.

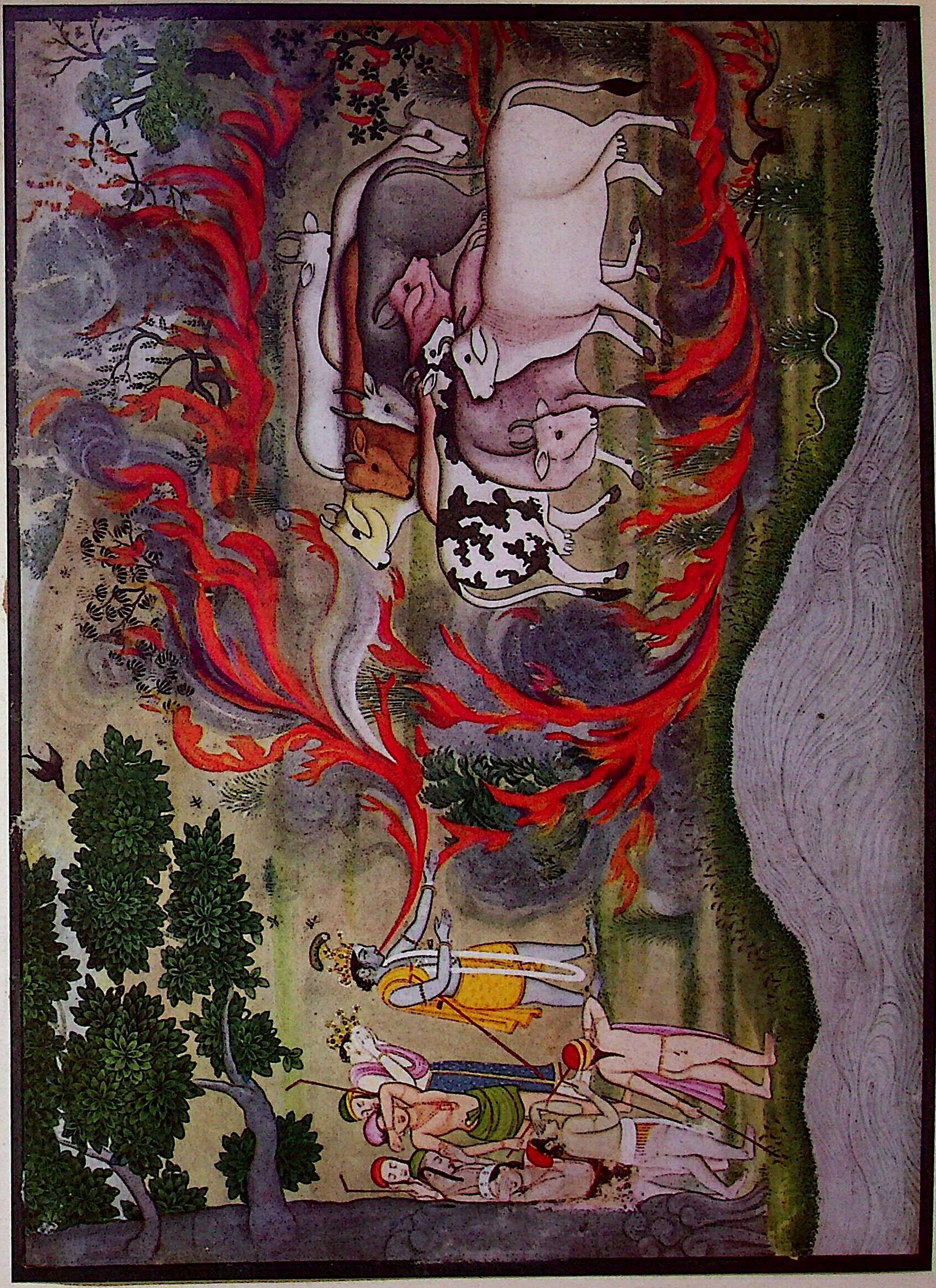


PLATE XI

Kṛishṇa Steals the Clothes of *Gopīs*

In the first month of winter the *gopīs* of Vraja observed a fast in honour of the goddess Kātyāyanī. Then they went to an unfrequented *ghāṭ* to bathe, and having taken off their clothes entered the water and began to sport. At that very time Kṛishṇa was grazing the cows seated in the shade of a fig tree. Hearing their songs he quietly approached and observed the bathers. As he gazed, something entered his mind, and he stole all the clothes and ascended a *kadamba* tree. When the *gopīs* saw there were no clothes on the bank, they began to look about in alarm and to say among themselves, "Just now not even a bird came here; who has taken away the clothes?" In the meantime a *gopī* saw that, with a crown on his head, wearing a necklace of wild flowers, Kṛishṇa was concealed in the *kadamba* tree. On seeing him she cried, "Friend, behold him, the stealer of our hearts, the stealer of clothes, on the *kadamba* tree, holding a bundle, seated resplendent." Hearing this speech, all the young women having seen Kṛishṇa, felt ashamed, entered the water, joined their hands, bowed their heads and supplicated:

> Compassionate to the humble, beloved remover of grief,
> O Mohan, please give our clothes.
> Hearing thus, Kṛishṇa says, I will not give thus,
> Come out one by one, then you will receive your clothes.

When Śrī Kṛishṇa said this, the *gopīs*, having reflected among themselves, began to say, "Come, friends! what Mohan says, that alone we should respect; because he knows the state of our body and mind; what shame is there in this?" Having thus settled among themselves, obeying the direction of Śrī Kṛishṇa, all the young women issued from the water with heads bowed down (Plate XI). When they stood before him on the shore, Kṛishṇa said, "Now, with joined hands come forward, then I will give the clothes."

The *gopīs* said:

> Why are you deceiving us, Darling of Nanda! we are plain
> simple Vraja girls.
> A trick has been played; consciousness and sense are
> gone; you have played this prank, O Hari!

When the *gopīs* joined their hands, Kṛishṇa gave the clothes and said, "In your hearts do not be displeased at this affair; I have given you the lesson, because in the water is the abode of the god Varuṇa, hence if anyone becomes naked and bathes in the water all his virtue passes away. Perceiving the affection of your hearts and being delighted, I have imparted this secret to you. Now go home; then, in the month of Kārtika come again and sport with me."

This is a rare study of nude women by the Kangra artists. The graceful and supple figures of the women have been drawn with elegance. The shyness of the women, and their feeling of helplessness, have been well expressed in this painting, the most charming of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series.

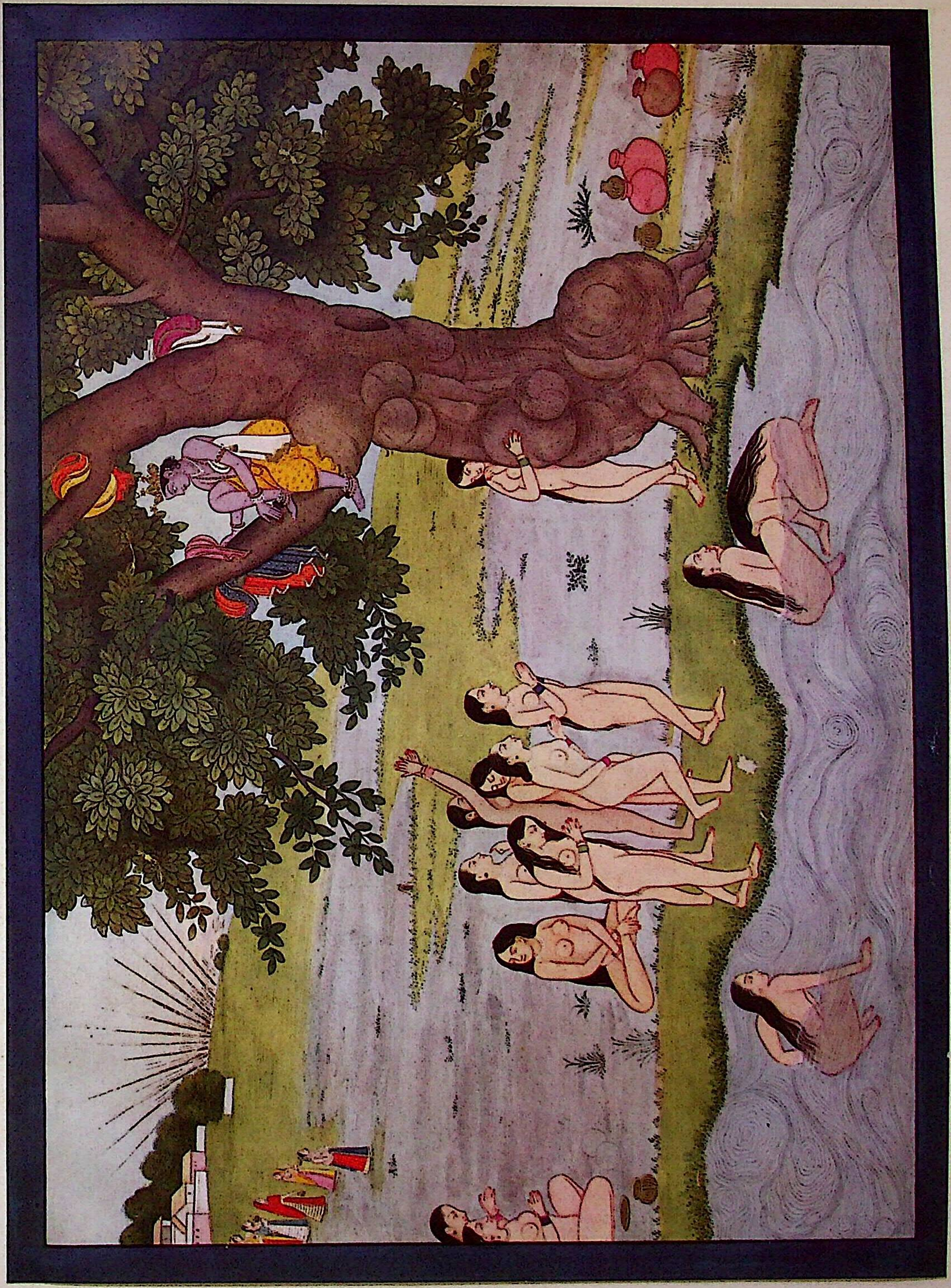


PLATE XII

The Wives of Mathura Brahmins Bringing Food for Kṛishṇa

After having restored the clothes to the cowherdesses, Kṛishṇa reached a spot near the bank of the Jamuna and rested under a tree. The cowherd boys came to him and said that they were feeling very hungry. Kṛishṇa sent them to the city of Mathura, and with great humility they begged for food from the Brahmins who were performing a *yajña*. The Brahmins refused all alms until their prayers and sacrifices were completed. The cowherd boys returned very disappointed to Kṛishṇa. He then directed them to the wives of the Brahmins who were compassionate and virtuous souls. The Brahmin women were cooking, and the cowherd boys informed them that Śrī Kṛishṇa was feeling hungry and that he had sent them to ask for food. The Brahmin women rose from their cooking, and carrying golden dishes with food of six flavours came to Kṛishṇa, who was seated under a tree accompanied by Balarāma and the cowherd boys. They gave him their offerings with full devotion, and Kṛishṇa accepted their food very graciously. On the place near the Jamuna where Kṛishṇa was fed by the Brahmin women of Mathura is a temple commemorating the devotion of these pious ladies.

This painting is one of the most graceful of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series. The dresses of the women are colourful. The picture is composed in two parts separated by the tree—on one side is the procession of women carrying golden plates covered with embroidered *rumāls*, and on the other are Kṛishṇa and Balarāma with the cowherd boys and the cows resting in the foreground.

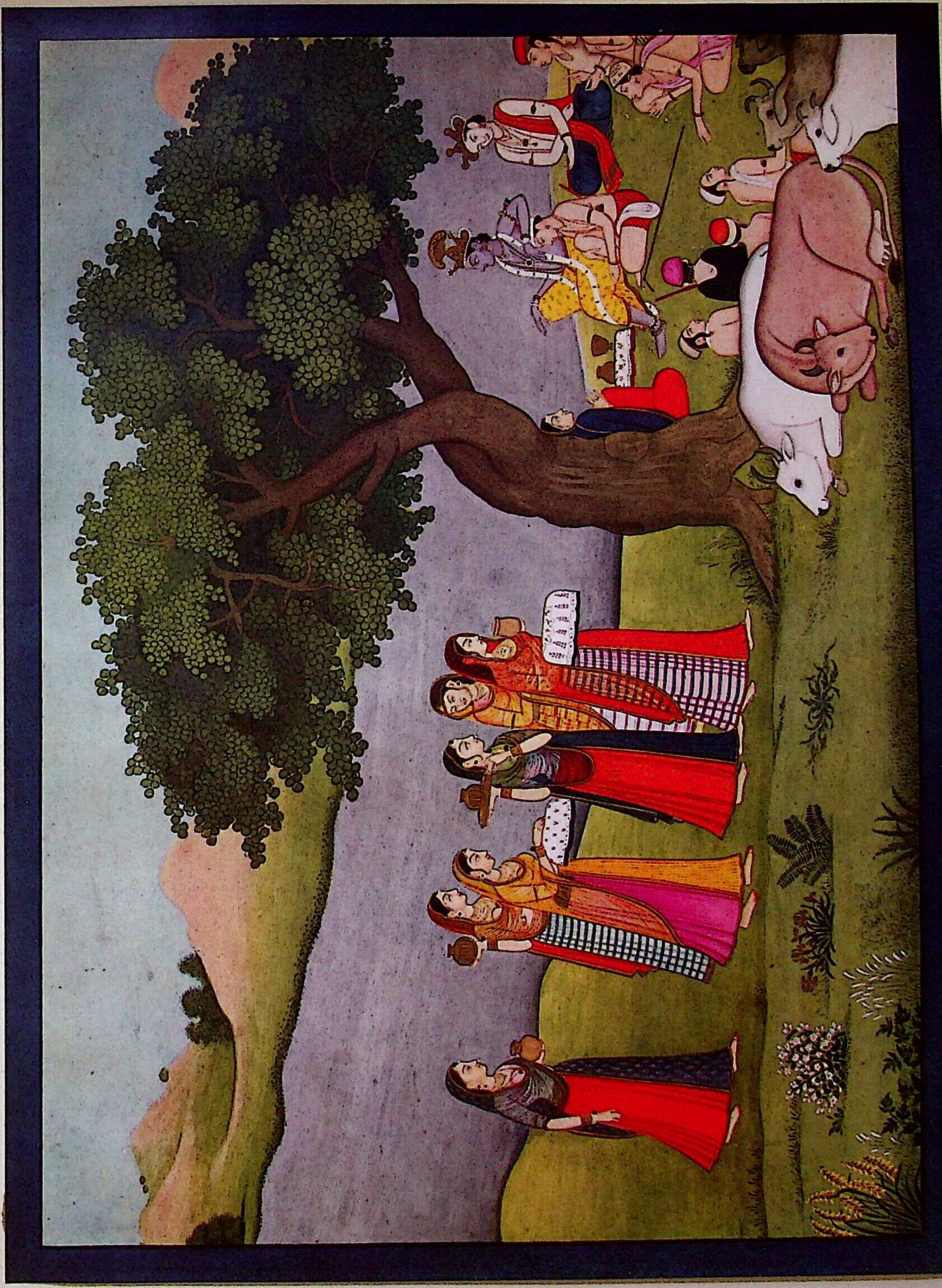


PLATE XIII

In Search of Kṛishṇa

In the night of the full moon in the month of Kārtika, Kṛishṇa saw in the clear sky the stars sprinkled and the moonlight diffused over ten quarters of space. On perceiving the beauty of moonlight it came into his mind that he had promised the cowherdesses that in the autumn season he would dance with them, and therefore it was desirable to fulfil that promise. With this idea, he went to the forest and played the flute.

On hearing the sound of the flute, all the Vraja girls were greatly agitated. Adorning themselves at random, they rose and hurried forth and met Śrī Kṛishṇa. The beauty of Kṛishṇa at that time is indescribable. Decked in ornaments, so fascinating, beautiful and charming he was, that the Vraja maidens were amazed. They too putting on elegant dresses and ornaments, adorning themselves from head to foot, came with lutes and timbrels. Composing melodies and becoming intoxicated with love and passion, abandoning reflection and modesty, they joined Kṛishṇa and began to play, sing and dance.

On seeing that they had become proud Kṛishṇa, taking his favourite one with him, became invisible.

The *gopīs* separated from Kṛishṇa lamented like a herd of elephants who had lost their leader. They wandered in the forest of Vṛindāvana in search of him.

When they could not find Kṛishṇa, one of them said, "We see no one from whom we can ask where Kṛishṇa has gone." Hearing this, a *gopī* said, "It has occurred to me that the trees, birds and animals in this forest are sages who have assumed incarnate form to see the sports of Kṛishṇa. We ask from them, and they will point out whither Kṛishṇa may have gone." On hearing this, all the *gopīs* began to ask the trees of the forest the whereabouts of Kṛishṇa:

> O *aśvattha*, *plakśa*, and *nyagrodha!* your lofty form was obtained by meritorious acts ;
> You, indeed, have been beneficent to others, and have assumed on earth the shape of trees;
> You have endured the pains of heat, cold and rain; you have remained standing for the advantage of others;
> The darling of Nanda having taken the heart and possessions of all, has he gone hitherwards ? kindly tell us.
> Oh *chuta*, *priyāla*, *panasa*, *asana*, *kovidara*, *jambu*, *arka*, *bilva*, *bakula*, *āmra*, *kadamba* and *nipa!* You are dedicated
> to the service of others and dwell on the banks of the Jamuna. We feel desolate in our hearts.
> Show us the path following which we can find Kṛishṇa.
> O *aśoka*, *champā*, *kurabaka*, *nāgakesara* and *punnāga!* have you seen Kṛishṇa passing by ?
> O *tulsi!* greatly beloved of Hari! from his body he nowhere keeps you separate;
> O blossoming one! has Hari come and met you to-day ? Who will point out to us where he is ?
> O dear *mālatī*, *mallikā*, *jati* and *yuthikā!* has the youthful Kṛishṇa gone forth this way ?
> Oh Earth ! what austerities have you undergone, so as to be favoured with the touch
> of the feet of Kṛishṇa ? The *durvā* grass on your body bears witness to your joyous thrill.
> The women of Vraja crying out, said to the deer, have you seen Kṛishṇa going in this direction ?

One *gopī* says to another: "Oh Friend! ask the creeper which has entwined in embrace the big tree, its lover. It has certainly been touched by Kṛishṇa's fingers. For, see how in its blossoms it bears the shiver of delight!" In this way the cowherdesses, continually inquiring of beasts, birds, trees, and climbing plants identified themselves with him, and began to imitate his various exploits and childish sports. One sounded the flute like Kṛishṇa, and another imitated his gait. One raised her upper garment to the sky, as if she were holding the mountain Govardhana. Having thus enacted the exploits of Kṛishṇa, and asked the trees and creepers of the forest his whereabouts, the *gopīs* discovered the footprint of Kṛishṇa with lotus, barely-mark, standard, noose and thunderbolt glittering on the sand. On seeing this, the Vraja women, prostrated themselves before the dust which gods, men and saints are searching for, placing it on the head.

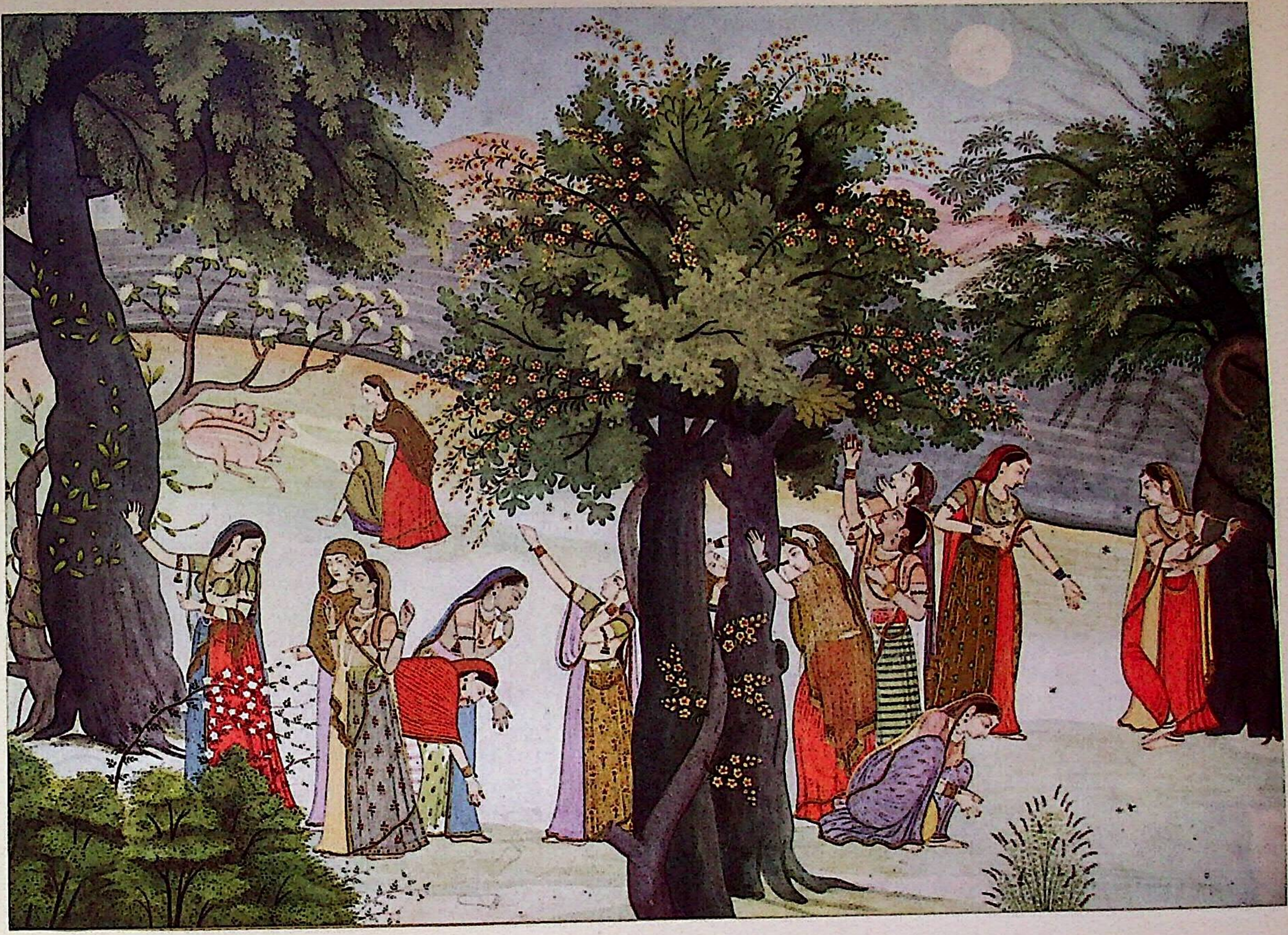


PLATE XIV

The Favourite Forsaken

Kṛishṇa roams the forest with his favourite *gopī*. Listening to the songs of birds, the humming of bees, the harping of the forest winds, admiring the lotus-gemmed lakes and flower-decked swards, and enjoying the soft-scented breeze they wander revelling in the beauty of the green forest. The girl feels very happy that Kṛishṇa is now fully subject to her charms. She feels tired, and in her pride she asks Kṛishṇa to carry her on his shoulders. As she makes an attempt to climb on his shoulders, he disappears. "As her hands were outstretched, so with extended hands she remained standing; just as, by pride, lightning may have been separated from the cloud, or the moonlight, angry with the moon, may have lingered behind; and the brilliance from her fair form, escaping and spreading on the earth, gave forth such beauty as though she were standing on a ground of shining gold, and heaving great sighs because of the separation from her Beloved, she stood alone in the forest, and all the beasts, birds, trees and climbing plants, hearing the sound of her sobbing, were weeping also."[20] The heart-broken favourite wanders in the forest of Vṛindāvana all alone in search of Kṛishṇa. *Gopīs* who were searching Kṛishṇa saw her standing alone on the bank of the Jamuna (Plate XIV).

This painting, one of the illustrations of the *Rāsapañchādhyāyī*, shows the meeting of *gopīs* and Kṛishṇa's favourite on a sand-hill on the bank of the Jamuna. The drooping branches of the willow are symbolic of their agony and despair. The two white sand-hills with the flush of pink on the top are so reminiscent of the physical charm of woman. The dark forest trees provide a refreshing contrast with the white sand-hills bathed in the brilliant light of the full moon.

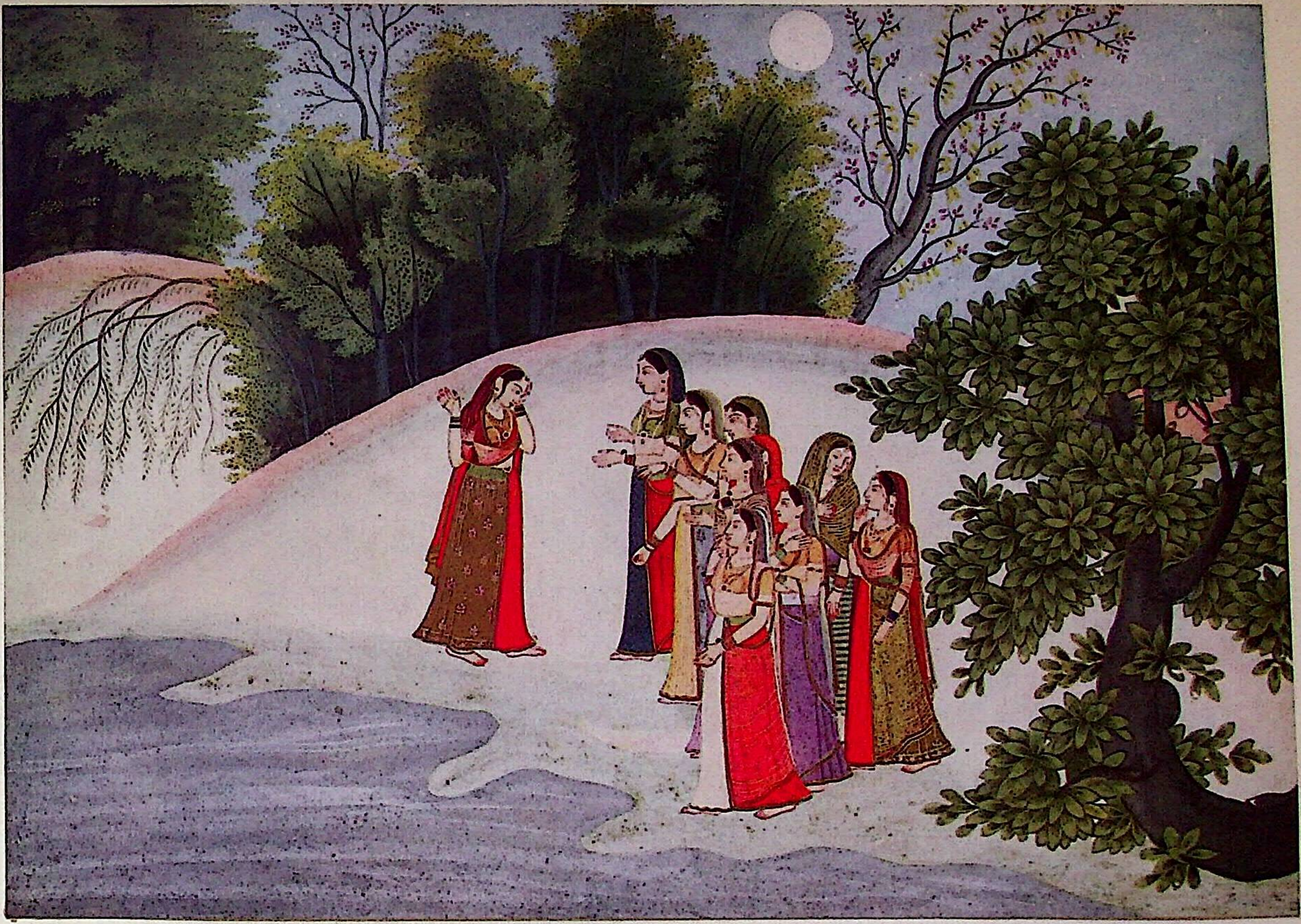


PLATE XV

Union with Kṛishṇa

Kṛishṇa's favourite and the *gopīs* then come to the river bank and sing his praises. When he still does not appear, grief-stricken, they fall down senseless. Then Kṛishṇa manifests himself with his lotus face smiling, wearing yellow garments and a white garland, looking more love-like than love itself. Seeing him, with their eyes beaming with love and joy they rise up from the swoon. They gather around him spellbound by his beauty. Kṛishṇa sits among them under the shade of a *kadamba* tree and makes them happy. As they surround him, admiring his beauty, one of them says, "How we long to see your beautiful face for ever and for ever! Brahmā is a great fool in that he made an eyelid to place an obstacle in our fixed gazing." Seated in the centre of the circle of cowherdesses, Kṛishṇa appears as beautiful as the moon in the starry firmament (Plate XV).

As the dark-blue one sat in the midst of the
  assembly, the beauty of the women was such,
As though golden creepers had grown from beneath
  a blue mountain.

Now follows the *rāsa*. Taking the *gopīs* Kṛishṇa enters the sands of the Jamuna, which are sparkling like diamonds under the magic of moonlight, and the dance begins. Multiplying himself into as many as the milkmaids, he dances with them in a ring, standing between each pair.

Cowherdesses and Nanda's son, alternatively, like a
  dense cloud and lightning all round;
The dark Kṛishṇa, the fair Vraja women; like
  a gold and sapphire necklace.

Here the breasts of some are uncovered; there the diadems of others slip; on the one side, the broken pearl necklaces are falling; on the other side, the wild-flower wreaths. The drops of perspiration on their foreheads glitter like strings of pearls; and the ringlets on the most fair faces of the cowherdesses are dishevelled as if young snakes, from lust of nectar, having flown up, had attached themselves to the moon. In this way, singing and dancing, practising various kinds of coquetry and ogling, they are giving and receiving enjoyment, and mutually pleased, laughing merrily, embracing repeatedly, they make offerings of clothes and ornaments. Thus they whirl on the sand on the shore of a lotus-lake. To see the sight gods appear in the sky, the sun, the moon, Indra, Brahmā and Śiva, and rain down flowers on the dancing circle of Kṛishṇa and *gopīs*. Nārada and Gandharvas play music, and there is such harmony of *rāgas* and *rāginīs* that the wind and water cease to flow, and the moon and stars in the sky tremble with joy. The Ring Dance goes on all the time in the Universe; the darkness of the vast space is Kṛishṇa and the cosmic radiations of the sun and the stars are *gopīs*. The winds are the fans and the fragrance of the vegetation is the incense at his altar. Kṛishṇa is God, the music of his flute is the call of the Infinite. The *gopī* is the human soul and Vṛindāvana is the heart of man, where the eternal play of the love of Soul and God continues.

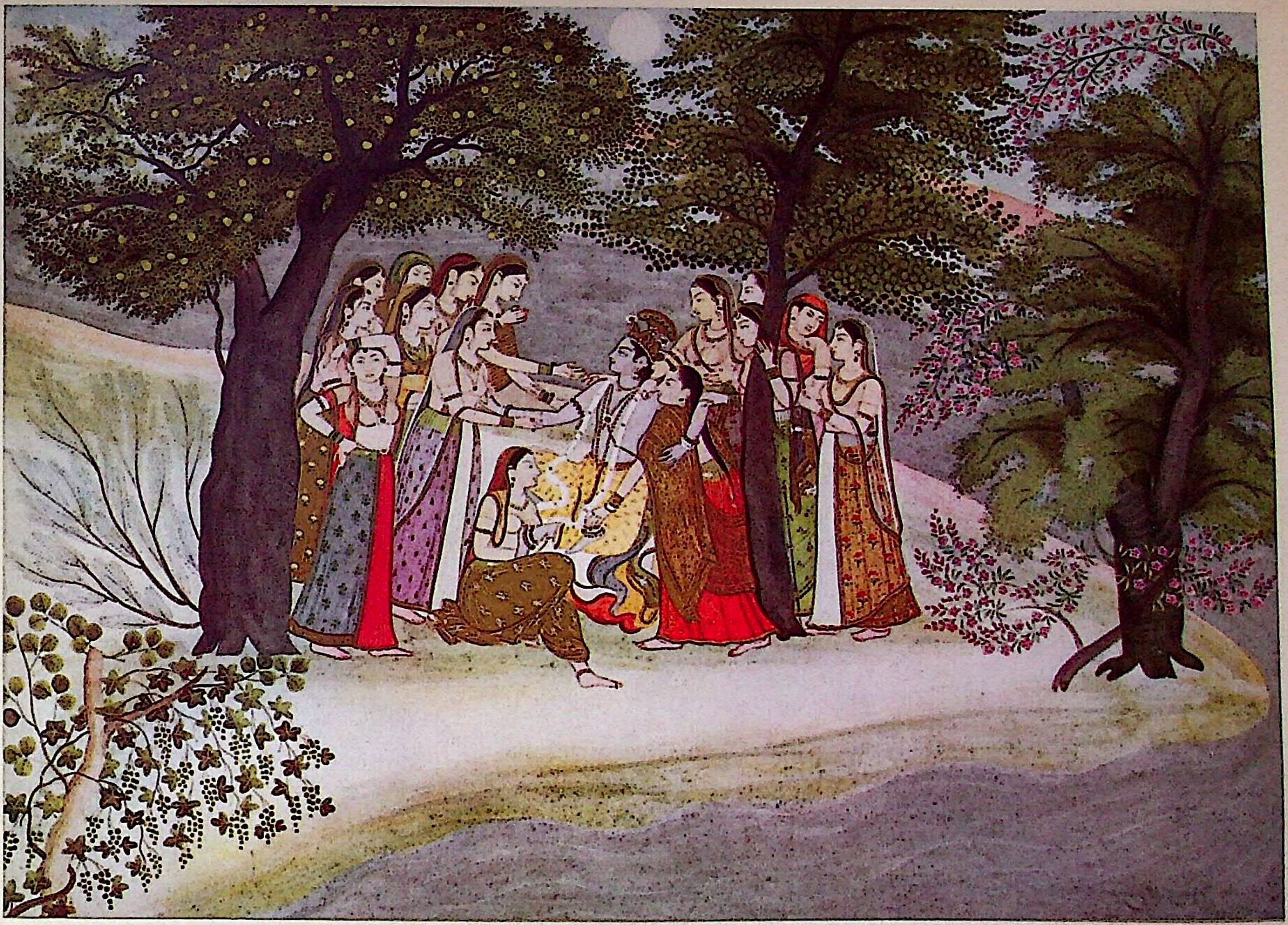


PLATE XVI

The Water Sports of Kṛishṇa and the *Gopīs*

When the great dance was over, then like a tired elephant, who enters the water and engages himself in sport with female elephants, Śrī Kṛishṇa, to shake off his fatigue, transgressing the code of the world and the scripture, entered the Jamuna, wishing to engage himself in water-sports with the *gopīs* who walked as gracefully as female elephants. Hordes of bumble-bees *(bhamrās)* gave up their haunts in the bowers, and hovered over Śrī Kṛishṇa's garland of wild flowers, crushed on account of contact with the limbs of the embraced *gopīs*. The bumble-bees followed the Lord like singing Gandharvas.

All the *gopīs* standing in water and watching Kṛishṇa with affection and faintly smiling, started splashing water upon him. From his majesty and beauty, the *gopīs* thought that the moon itself with its ambrosial beams had come down to the earth. Some embraced him, and others gently touched him with their full firm bosoms. Some yawned, raising their gentle creeper-like arms, displaying their beautiful breasts in an inviting manner. Kṛishṇa, too, though the Lord Almighty Himself responded to their affection and playfully revelled in this water-sport as if he were the king of elephants.

The observation of Coomaraswamy about human figures in Pahari painting is particularly appropriate to this painting. Says Coomaraswamy, "What is most noble and alluring in these works is their freedom from all self-consciousness; none of the figures is aware that she is overlooked, but every action is spontaneous and impulsive. And thus the human figures of the Pahari painters are veritably god-like, in the sense of Bharata, who says that the actions of the gods spring from the natural disposition of the mind, while those of men depend upon the conscious working of the will."[21] None of the *gopīs* in this painting is conscious of the presence of others, and is behaving as if she is the sole beloved of Kṛishṇa.

In this painting, the soft and phosphorescent light of the moon is depicted in a delightful manner. The group of Kṛishṇa and *gopīs* is composed between two large mango trees growing on the bank of the Jamuna. The silver sprays of the *mādhavī* swing on the dark branches of the mango tree like the radiant figures of *gopīs* around Kṛishṇa. The moon-like breasts of the *gopīs* provide delightful harmony with the orb of the moon in the blue sky, and its reflection in the dark water of the Jamuna. The *gopīs* are all looking towards Kṛishṇa with eyes full of passion, as the night-blowing *mādhavī* flowers pine for the moon. The river itself looks like a lotus-bed with a blue lotus in the middle surrounded by uprising buds of pink and white lotuses.

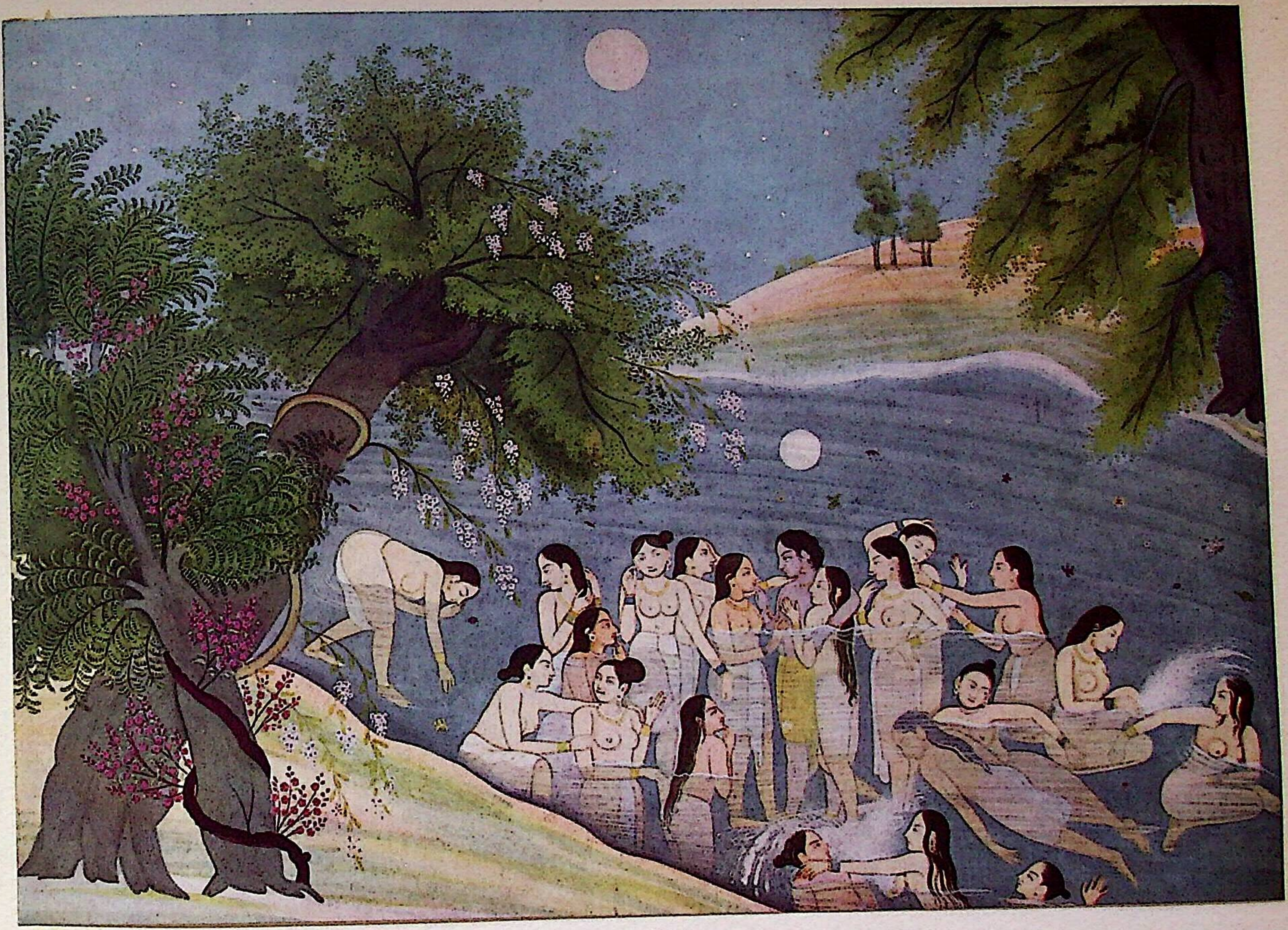


PLATE XVII

The Salvation of Sudarśana

Nanda had taken a vow that he would perform a special worship of the family goddess Ambikā when Kṛishṇa would be twelve years old. When Kṛishṇa reached that age, Nanda, accompanied by an orchestra of drums and trumpets, and carrying gifts of milk, curd and butter, arrived at the temple of the goddess Ambikā. He performed worship and fed the Brahmins. By the time prayers and worship were over, it had become dark and Nanda and his followers decided to rest near the temple. At night when he was sleeping, a python came and seized his foot. Nanda raised an alarm and his followers came to his rescue. They beat the python with sticks and thrust burning faggots into its body, but it did not release its hold. Nanda shouted to Kṛishṇa for help. Kṛishṇa arrived and placed his foot on the back of the snake, and it at once changed its form becoming a handsome man and made obeisance before him with joined hands. Kṛishṇa asked him who he was and bowing meekly he said, "I am the magician named Sudarśana and my home was in Surapur. I was very proud of my beauty and skill and one day seated in a chariot I went to the forest. There Ṛishi Aṅgirasa was performing penance, and I went backwards and forwards over him in my chariot a hundred times. Awaking from his *samādhi*, he cursed me and that is how I became a python. The Ṛishi said, 'your deliverance will be through Kṛishṇa *avatāra*.' That is why I came and seized the foot of Nanda so that you might give me salvation." Having said this, Sudarśana prostrated himself before Kṛishṇa, and after taking leave mounted his chariot and went to Suraloka.

This is another painting in which the artist has shown his skill in painting a night scene. The star-spangled sky and the forest in the background provide a solemn setting to the gruesome scene in the foreground. The small temple of Ambikā resembles the way-side temples one comes across on the way from Bhavarna to Alampur in Kangra Valley. The musicians beating drums and making music with *shehnāī* (trumpets) and the group of women in a prayerful mood remind one of the festivals in honour of the *devī* in the Valley.

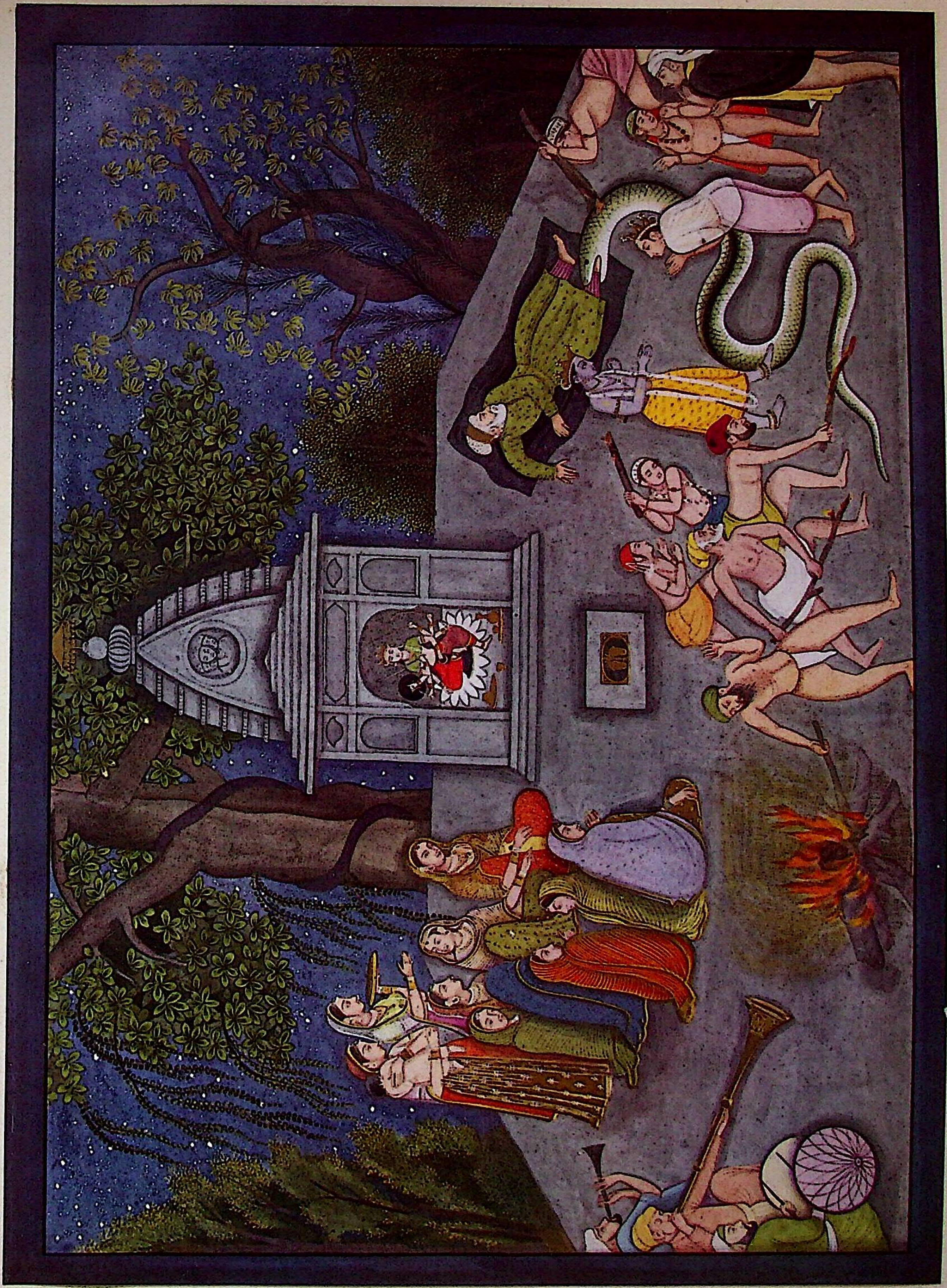


PLATE XVIII

Kṛishṇa Reveals His Divinity to Akrūra

Akrūra was sent by Kaṁsa to fetch Kṛishṇa and Balarāma to Mathura. He was in fact a devotee of Kṛishṇa and he told Nanda how unhappy the people of Mathura were on account of the oppressions of Kaṁsa. Next morning Nanda, accompanied by Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, cowherd boys and his friends, proceeded towards Mathura carrying presents of milk, curd, butter and buffaloes. While Nanda riding a bullock-cart proceeded towards Mathura, Akrūra, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma stopped on the bank of the Jamuna. Akrūra decided to bathe in the river. As soon as he dived and opened his eyes in the water, he saw Kṛishṇa and Balarāma seated in front of him. When he raised his head he saw Kṛishṇa and Balarāma in the chariot far away, and he was surprised. He dived again and saw Kṛishṇa as Vishṇu with four arms, carrying the conch-shell, discus, club and lotus, seated on the serpent Śesha, with gods, Gandharvas and others standing with folded hands behind him. While still standing in the water, Akrūra meditated on the Lord and joining his hands and making obeisance he thus celebrated the glory of Kṛishṇa: "O Bhagvān! you alone are Creator and Destroyer; for the sake of worshippers, having come into the world, you assume endless shapes and gods, men, and saints are but parts of you; having become manifest from you alone, they are so contained in you alone, as water which having issued from the ocean, is received back into the ocean! Your greatness is incomparable. Who can utter it? You ever remain *virāṭa-svarūpa*. Your head is heaven, the earth is your foot, the sea your belly, the sky your navel; the clouds your hair, trees are the down of your body, fire your mouth, the ten quarters your ears; your eyes are the moon and sun; Indra is your arm; your intellect is Brahmā, your self-consciousness is Rudra; thunder is your speech, air is your breath, and the closing of your eyes is night and day. In this form you are ever resplendent. Who can recognise you?" In this way having offered praises, Akrūra, meditating on the feet of the Lord said, "Lord of Compassion! keep me in your protection!"[22]

The thick forest in the background provides a sombre setting to this painting which breathes an atmosphere of devotion. The entire story is told in five separate groups which compose the picture — Kṛishṇa and Balarāma arriving in the chariot, Akrūra seeing their reflection in the water and later on seeing Kṛishṇa in his Vishṇu form. On the bank an elderly herdsman wrapped in a dark blanket is watching a *papīhā* bird sitting on the branch of a tree, and in the background Nanda is shown riding a bullock-cart preceded by a group of cowherd boys proceeding towards Mathura. In this painting we see what Coomaraswamy calls 'the transfiguring idealism of mystic art where everything is perfected by living imagination.' Against the green of the valley floor the patient dignity of the giant trees, standing on the bank of the Jamuna, makes a great impression on the mind.

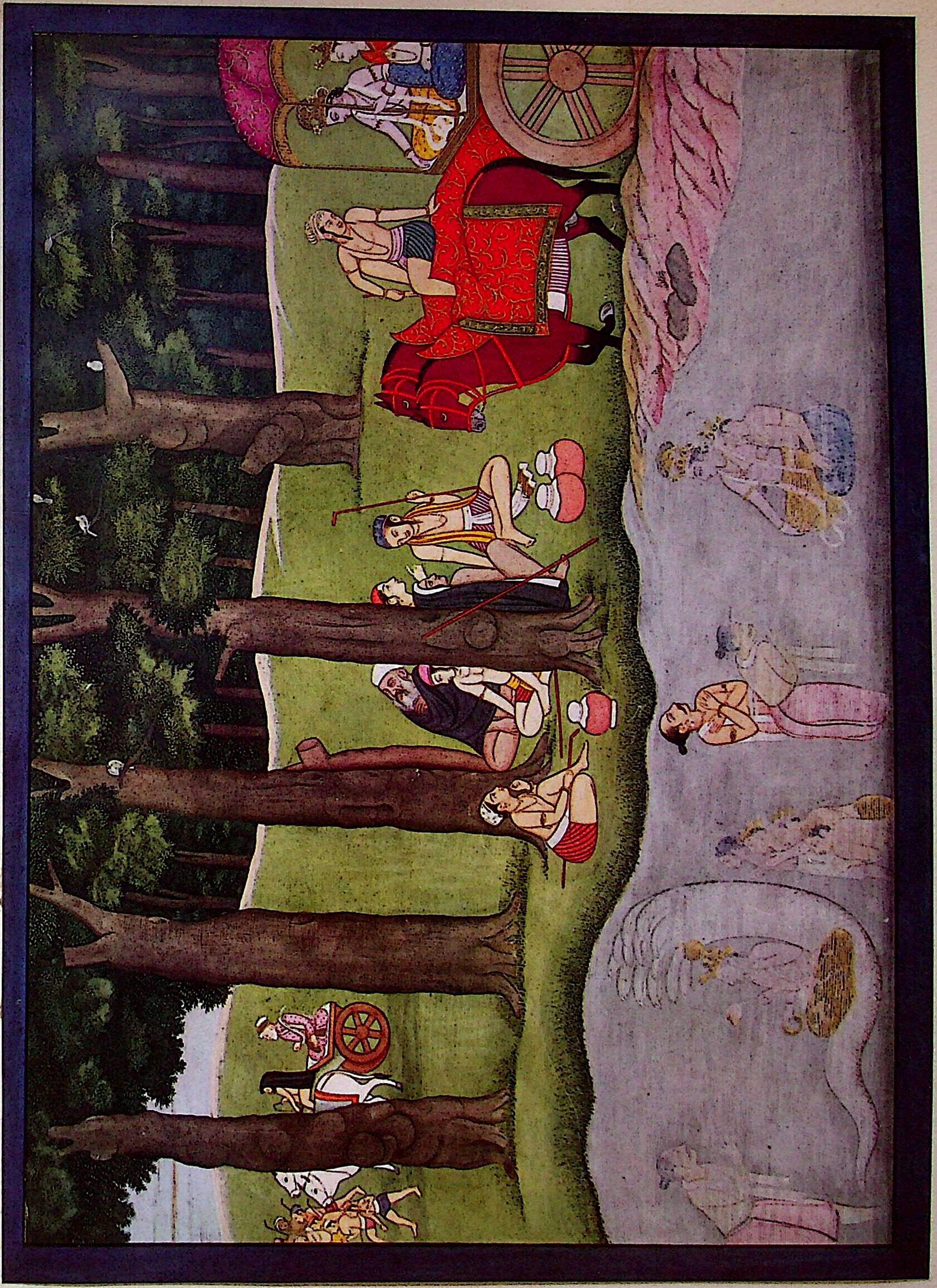


PLATE XIX

Kṛishṇa and Balarāma Resting outside Mathura

Nanda and his followers pitched their tents outside Mathura. By the time Kṛishṇa and Balarāma accompanied by Akrūra arrived, it was almost dark. Akrūra went to Kaṁsa and informed him that Kṛishṇa and Balarāma accompanied by the cowherds of Vraja had arrived and their tents were pitched on the river bank.

In the morning Kṛishṇa and Balarāma accompanied by the cowherds proceeded to see the city. Outside the city were a number of gardens and lakes filled with pure water in which lotuses were blossoming. On the banks of the lakes swans, cranes and many other water-birds were disporting. Having enjoyed the beauty of the gardens and the lakes, Kṛishṇa and his companions headed towards the city of Mathura. The city was protected by a moat filled with water, the walls were of copper and the entrance was guarded by four crystal gates. Inside were palaces, five to seven storeys high, and their spires and pinnacles shone like lightning. On coming to know that Kṛishṇa and Balarāma had arrived, the beautiful women of Mathura were much excited. Some left their food and bath; some rose and left dressing their heir. They forgot the amorous dalliance of their husbands, and putting on clothes and ornaments anyhow, some stood at the doors, and some ran into the lanes. Some ran to the windows and balconies of their homes and stretching out their arms they pointed towards dark Kṛishṇa dressed in yellow silk and fair Balarāma in blue dress.

As the party proceeded, they came across a washerman of Kaṁsa. Snatching the royal clothes from him the cowherds wore them. They then came across Kubjā, a hunch-back woman servant of Kaṁsa. She was a devotee of Kṛishṇa and she anointed his body with sandal paste. Kṛishṇa made her straight and beautiful. After that they proceeded to the heart of the city where Kṛishṇa broke the bow of Śiva. When Kaṁsa heard about it, he was greatly alarmed.

In this painting Kṛishṇa and Balarāma are shown seated in front of the tent taking their meals. In the background is the bullock-cart with a cloth-cover and the bullocks. After they had taken their meals, they retire, and both the brothers are shown inside another tent sleeping. In a corner to the right is a portion of the sky with the crescent moon surrounded by the stars. Kangra artists excel in painting night scenes, and this picture is another example of their skill. This painting has an air of calm and serenity, and a soothing quality.

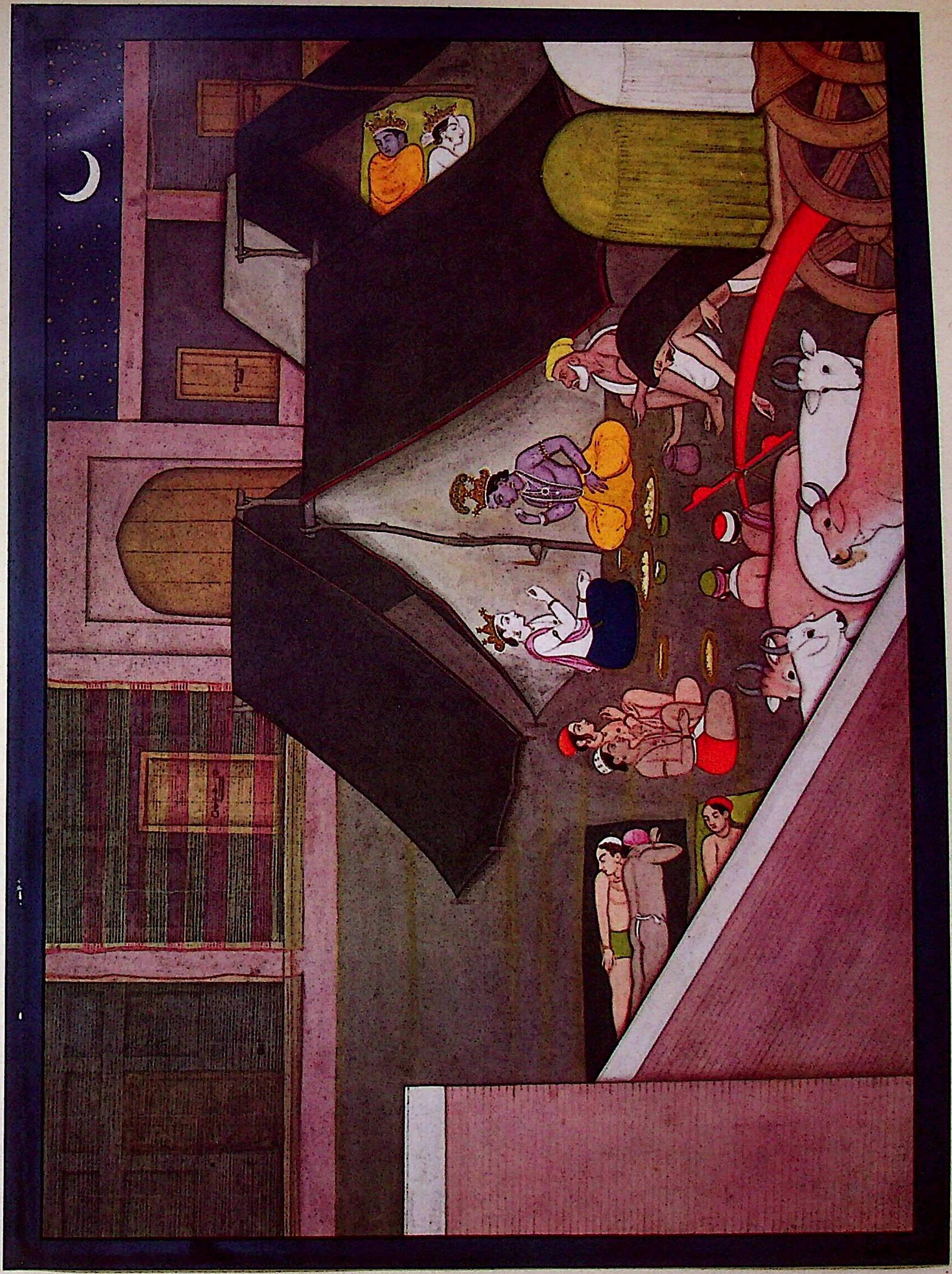
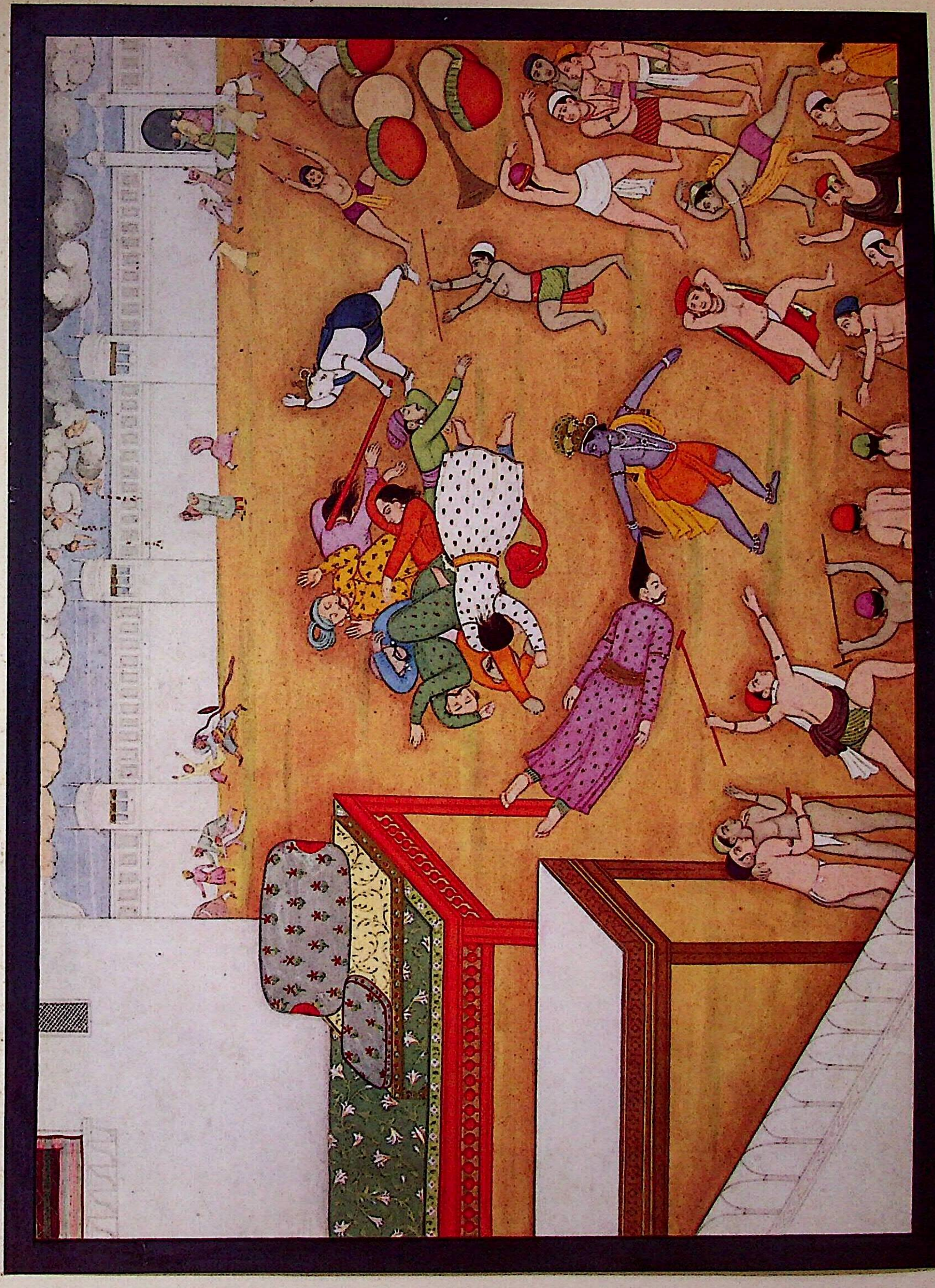


PLATE XX

Kṛishṇa Slays Kaṁsa

Kaṁsa arranged a wrestling match at which the followers of Nanda as well as the kings who had come to pay tribute to him were all invited. Kaṁsa seated himself on a dais. Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, accompanied by their cowherd friends, came to the gate of the arena and were stopped by a furious elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa. The elephant charged Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Balarāma seized the trunk and Kṛishṇa pulled the tail, and swinging the elephant round they dashed him down and killed him with blows. Then they pulled out his tusks and thus armed entered the arena. Kaṁsa sent his wrestlers Chāṇūra and Mushṭika to wrestle with Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. After the wrestling had gone on for some time, the two brothers overpowered the wrestlers and killed them. Then Kṛishṇa leaped on the dais, and seizing Kaṁsa by the hair, flung him down and killed him. In the confusion which followed, the cowherds gave a sound beating to the soldiers of Kaṁsa. The gods being delighted, uttered praises and rained flowers from the sky, and the men and women of Mathura on hearing the news were exceedingly happy.

Kṛishṇa released Vasudeva and Devakī from the prison and placed Ugrasena on the throne. Nanda and his cowherds took leave and returned to Vṛindāvana and Kṛishṇa and Balarāma went to Kashi and received instructions under the Ṛishi Sāndīpani who taught them the *Vedas* and *Śāstras*. Thus ends the legend of Kṛishṇa the cowherd god of Gokula and Vṛindāvana.



Sanskrit Text of Paintings with Translation

PLATE I

Folio No. 4

58·18/1 (National Museum, New Delhi)

ब्रह्मा तदुपधार्याथ सह देवैस्तया सह ।
जगाम सत्रिनयनस्तीरं क्षीरपयोनिधेः ।।१९।।
तत्र गत्वा जगन्नाथं देवदेवं वृषाकपिम्
पुरुषं पुरुषसूक्तेन उपतस्थे समाहितः ।।२०।।

brahmā tadupadhāryātha saha devaistayā saha /
jagāma satrinayanasṭīram kshīrpayonidheḥ //19
tatra gatvā jagannātham devadevam vṛishākapim /
purusham purushasūktena upatasthe samāhitaḥ //20

Brahmā understood her distress and accompanied by her, the three-eyed Śiva and other gods went to the shore of the milky ocean. 19

Arrived there, he prayed with reverence repeating the hymns of the *Purushasūkta*, the Lord of the Universe, the Supreme among the celestials, the glorious *Purusha*. 20

PLATE II

(Bhārat Kalā Bhavan)

शिशुपरिवर्तन

नन्दव्रजं शौरिरुपेत्य तत्र तान्
    गोपान्प्रसुप्तानुपलभ्य निद्रया ।
सुतं यशोदाशयने निधाय तत्-
    सुतामुपादाय पुनर्गृहानगात् ।।५२।।

भागवत, दशम स्कंध, पूर्वार्द्ध, अध्याय ३, श्लोक ५२

nandavrajam śaurir upetya tatra tān
    gopān prasuptān upalabhya nidrayā /
sutam yaśodāśayane nidhāya tat-
    sutām upādāya punar gṛihān agāt //52

Śauri (Vasudeva) approached the Vraja of Nanda and noticed the cowherds all fast asleep; placing his boy on the bed of Yaśodā and taking her daughter (new-born girl), he went back home. 52

PLATE IV

Folio No. 31

49·47 (State Museum, Lucknow)

इत्यन्तरेणार्जुनयोः कृष्णस्तु यमयोर्ययौ ।
आत्मनिर्वेशमात्रेण तिर्यग्गतमुलूखलम् ।।२६।।
वाणी गुणानुकथने श्रवणौ कथायां
    हस्तौ च कर्मसु मनस्तव पादयोर्नः ।
स्मृत्यां शिरस्तव निवासजगत्प्रणामे
    दृष्टिः सतां दर्शनेऽस्तु भवत्तनूनाम् ।।३८।।
गोपा नन्दादयः श्रुत्वा द्रुमयोः पततो रवम् ।
तत्राजग्मुः कुरुश्रेष्ठ निर्घातभयशंकिताः ।।१।।

ityantareṇārjunayoḥ kṛishṇastu yamayor yayau /
ātmanirveśamātreṇa tiryaggatam ulūkhalam //26
vāṇi guṇānukathane śravaṇau kathāyām
hastau cha karmasu manas tava pādayor naḥ /
smṛityām śiras tava nivāsajagatpraṇāme
dṛishṭis satām darśanestu bhavattanūnām //38
gopā nandādayas śrutvā drumayoḥ patato ravam /
tatrājagmuh kuruśreshṭha nirghātabhayaśaṅkitāḥ. //1

Thus Kṛishṇa crawled into the pair of *arjuna* trees; the moment he entered, the mortar stuck crosswise. 26

May our speech be engaged in narrating your noble qualities, the ears in listening to your stories, the hands in serving you, the mind in contemplating on your feet, the head in thought and adoration of you, the abode of the universe, and the eyes in seeing saints as you are in different bodies. 38

Nanda and other cowherds, hearing the crash of the two trees as they fell, came there frightened, apprehending a thunderbolt, O! the best of the Kurus. 1

PLATE V

Folio No. 33 — 49·19/239 (National Museum, New Delhi)

गोधनानि पुरस्कृत्य शृङ्गाण्यापूर्य सर्वतः ।
तूर्यघोषेण महता ययुः सहपुरोहिताः ।।३२।।
तथा यशोदारोहिण्यावेकं शकटमास्थिते ।
रेजतुः कृष्णरामाभ्यां तत्कथाश्रवणोत्सुके ।।३४।।

godhanāni puraskṛitya śṛiṅgāṇyāpūrya sarvataḥ /
tūryaghosheṇa mahatā yayus sahapurohitāḥ //32
tathā yaśodārohiṇyāvekam śakaṭam āsthite /
rejatuḥ krishṇarāmābhyām tatkathāśravaṇotsuke //34

The cowherds with their wealth of cattle leading the train, with their horns sounding on all sides and accompanied by their priests, proceeded with a great flare of trumpets. 32

And so Yaśodā and Rohiṇī got into the same cart and shone with Kṛishṇa and Rāma, ever eager to listen to the stories of these babes. 34

FIGURE 5

(Punjab Museum, Patiala)

वनविहार

केचिद्वेणून्वादयन्तो ध्मान्तः शृङ्गाणि केचन
केचिद्भृङ्गैः प्रगायन्तः कूजन्तः कोकिलैः परे ।।७।।
विच्छायाभिः प्रधावन्तो गच्छन्तः साधु हंसकैः ।
वकैरुपविशन्तश्च नृत्यन्तश्च कलापिभिः ।।८।।
विकर्षन्तः कीशवालानारोहन्तश्च तैर्द्रुमान् ।
विकुर्वन्तश्च तैः साकं प्लवन्तश्च पलाशिषु ।।९।।

भागवत, दशम स्कंध, पूर्वार्द्ध, अध्याय १२, श्लोक ७, ८, ९

kechid veṇūn vādayanto dhmāntas śṛiṅgāṇi kechana /
kechid bhṛiṅgaiḥ pragāyantaḥ kūjantaḥ kokilaiḥ pare //7
vichchhāyābhiḥ pradhāvanto gachchhantas sādhu hamsakaiḥ/
bakair upaviśantaś cha nṛityantaś cha kalāpibhiḥ //8
vikarshantaḥ kīśavālān ārohantaścha tair drumān /
vikurvantaścha tais sākam plavantaścha palāśishu //9

Some of the cowherds played the flute, others blew the horn; some hummed with the bees as others cooed with the *koels*. 7

Some ran after the shadows of birds while others imitated the lovely gait of swans; some stood like storks while others danced with the peacocks. 8

Some pulled the tails of monkeys as they climbed up the trees after them, making faces along with them, and jumping from one tree to another in their company. 9

PLATE VI

Folio No. 37 — 58·18/6 (National Museum, New Delhi)

स वै वको नाम महानसुरो वकरूपधृक् ।
आगत्य सहसा कृष्णं तीक्ष्णतुण्डोऽग्रसद् वली ।।४८।।

कृष्णं महाबकग्रस्तं दृष्ट्वा रामादयोऽर्भकाः ।
बभूवुरिन्द्रियाणीव विना प्राणं विचेतसः ।।४९।।
तं तालुमूलं प्रदहन्तमग्निवद्
गोपालसूनुं पितरं जगद्गुरोः ।
चच्छर्द सद्योऽतिरुषाक्षतं वक-
स्तुण्डेन हन्तुं पुनरभ्यपद्यत ।।५०।।
तमापतन्तं स निगृह्य तुण्डयो-
र्दोर्भ्यां वकं कंससखं सतां पतिः ।
पश्यत्सु वालेषु ददार लीलया
मुदावहो वीरणवद् दिवौकसाम् ।।५१।।

sa vai bako nāma mahān asuro bakarūpadhṛik /
āgatya sahasā kṛishṇam tikshṇatuṇḍo-grasad balī //48
kṛishṇam mahābakagrastam dṛishṭvā rāmādayorbhakāḥ /
babhūvurindriyāṇīva vinā prāṇam vichetasaḥ //49
tam tālumūlam pradahantam agnivad
gopālasūnum pitaram jagadguroḥ /
chachchharda sadyotirushākshatam bakas-
tuṇḍena hantum punarabhyapadyata //50
tamāpatantam sa nigṛihya tuṇḍayor-
dorbhyām bakam kamsasakham satām patiḥ /
paśyatsu bāleshu dadāra līlayā
mudāvaho vīraṇavad divaukasām //51

A great and powerful demon named Baka assuming the guise of a crane with a pointed beak came hastily to Kṛishṇa and swallowed him. 48

Balarāma and other boys saw Kṛishṇa caught by the great crane and, stunned at the sight, were like the limbs of the body bereft of life. 49

The crane immediately vomited the cowherd boy, the father of even the Lord of the Universe (Brahmā), as he burnt the root of his palate like fire and attempted to pierce him with his beak. 50

As the cowherd boys watched, Kṛishṇa, the refuge of the good, caught the two halves of the beak of the crane, the friend of Kaṁsa, even as it approached, and sportively tore it up like a reed, causing joy to the gods. 51

PLATE VII

Folio No. 44 58·18/7 (National Museum, New Delhi)

यावद् वत्सपवत्सकाल्पकवपुर्यावत्कराङ्घ्र्यादिकं
यावद्यष्टिविषाणवेणुदलशिग् यावद्विभूषाम्बरम् ।
यावच्छीलगुणाभिधाकृतिवयो यावद्विहारादिकं
सर्वं विष्णुमयं गिरोऽङ्गवदजः सर्वस्वरूपो वभौ ।।१९।।
स्वयमात्माऽऽत्मगोवत्सान् प्रतिवार्यात्मवत्सपैः ।
क्रीडन्नात्मविहारैश्च सर्वात्मा प्राविशद् व्रजम् ।।२०।।
एकदा चारयन् वत्सान् सरामो वनमाविशत् ।
पंचषासु त्रियामासु हायनापूरणीष्वजः ।।२८।।
ततो विदूराच्चरतो गावो वत्सानुपव्रजम् ।
गोवर्धनाद्रिशिरसि चरन्त्यो ददृशुस्तृणम् ।।२९।।
दृष्ट्वाथ तत्स्नेहवशोऽस्मृतात्मा
स गोव्रजोऽत्यात्मपदुर्गमार्गः ।
द्विपात् ककुद्ग्रीव उदास्यपुच्छो-
गाद्धुङ्कृतैरास्नुपया जवेन ।।३०।।

yāvad vatsapavatsakālpakavapur yāvat karānghryādikam
yavad yashṭivishāṇaveṇudalaśig yāvadvibhūshāmbaram /

yāvachchhīlaguṇābhidhākṛitivayo yavad vihārādikam
sarvam vishṇumayam girongavadajas sarvasvarūpo babhau //19
svayam ātmātmagovatsān prativāryātmavatsapaiḥ /
kṛiḍannātmavihāraiścha sarvātmā prāviśad vrajam //20
ekadā chārayan vatsān sarāmo vanamāviśat /
pañchashāsu triyāmāsu hāyanāpūraṇīshvajaḥ //28
tato vidūrāchcharato gāvo vatsān upavrajam /
govardhanādriśirasi charantyo dadṛiśustṛiṇam //29
drishṭvātha tatsnehavaśosmṛitātmā sa govrajotyātmapadurgamārgaḥ /
dvipāt kakudgrīva udāsyapuchchhogāddhuṅkṛitairāsrupayā javena //30

Assuming as many of the juvenile forms of the cowherd boys and the little calves as to compose their exact size, number of hands and feet, holding an equal number of staves, horns, flutes and leaf-cups, with raiment and adornment the same, with the behaviour, qualities, names, appearance and age, and even movements exactly similar, with voice and form exactly resembling, Kṛishṇa the birthless, assumed the form of all, physically illustrating the Vedic hymns that mention all as one comprehensive composite of Vishṇu 19

The Lord who envelopes all, himself in the form of cowherds, diverting himself in the form of calves and playing with himself in his own sports, entered the Vraja. 20

One day, when there were only five or six days more for the completion of a year, Kṛishṇa the birthless one, entered the forest with Balarāma taking the calves out for grazing. 28

Then the cows grazing the grass on the top of the Govardhana mountain saw the calves grazing near Vraja. 29

That herd of cows, overwhelmed by their affection for them at the sight of the calves, and almost forgetting themselves, ran fast beyond their cowherds on that forest path, bellowing, milk flowing from their udders, with the hump and neck close, and head and tail erect, almost like bipeds. 30

PLATE VIII

Folio No. 45

58.18/8 (National Museum, New Delhi)

इत एतेऽत्र कुत्रत्या मन्मायामोहितेतरे ।
तावन्त एव तत्राब्दं क्रीडन्तो विष्णुना समम् ।।
एवमेतेषु भेदेषु चिरं ध्यात्वा स आत्मभूः ।
सत्याः के कतरे नेति ज्ञातुं नेष्टे कथंचन ।।
दृष्ट्वा त्वरेण निजधोरणतोऽवतीर्य
पृथ्व्यां वपुः कनकदण्डमिवाभिपात्य ।
स्पृष्ट्वा चतुर्मुकुटकोटिभिरङ्घ्रियुग्मं
नत्वा मुदश्रुसुजलैरकृताभिषेकम् ।।
ततोऽनुज्ञाप्य भगवान् स्वभुवं प्रागवस्थितान् ।
वत्सान् पुलिनमानिन्ये यथापूर्वसखं स्वकम् ।।
एकस्मिन्नपि यातेऽब्दे प्राणेशं चान्तरात्मनः ।
कृष्णमायाहता राजन् क्षणार्धं मेनिरेर्भकाः ।
ऊचुश्च सुहृदः कृष्णं स्वागतं तेऽतिरंहसा ।
नैकोऽप्यभोजि कवल एहीतः साधु भुज्यताम् ।।

ita etetra kutratyā manmāyāmohitetare /
tāvanta eva tatrābdam krīḍanto vishṇunā samam //
evam eteshu bhedeshu chiram dhyātvā sa ātmabhūḥ /
satyāḥ ke katare neti jñātum neshṭe kathañchana //
dṛishṭvā tvareṇa nijadhoraṇatovatīrya
pṛithvyām vapuḥ kanakadaṇḍam ivābhipātya /
spṛishṭvā chaturmukuṭakoṭibhir aṅghriyugmam
natvā mudaśrusujalairakṛitābhishekam //
tatonujñāpya bhagavān svabhuvam prāgavasthitān /
vatsān pulinamāninye yathāpūrvasakham svakam //

ekasminnapi yātebde prāṇcśam chāntarātmanaḥ /
kṛishṇamāyāhatā rājan kshaṇārdham menirerbhakāḥ //
ūchuscha suhṛidaḥ krishṇam svāgatam tetiramhasā /
naikopyabhoji kavala chītas sādhu bhujyatām //

Who are these and where are these from who appear different from those who are enveloped in my charm? Exactly the same number of these have been playing for a whole year with Kṛishṇa.

Thus having pondered over these variations, the self-born Brahmā could on no account know who were the real ones and who were not.

Having seen, he dismounted from his vehicle in great haste, and throwing himself on the ground like a golden rod, he touched the pair of feet (of Kṛishṇa) with the tips of his four crowns, and making obeisance, he bathed them with tears of joy.

Then the Lord, having permitted the self-born Brahmā to go, brought the calves that were standing as before to the sand dunes where his friends were waiting for him as usual.

Through the illusion caused by Kṛishṇa, the cowherd boys thought it was only half a second though a whole year had passed without the company of the lord of their life (Kṛishṇa).

The friends spoke to Kṛishṇa, "Welcome, be quick, not a morsel has been eaten, come here, eat merrily."

PLATE IX

Folio No. 50 — 258 (Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu)

ता: कृष्णमातरमपत्यमनुप्रविष्टां ।
तुल्यव्यथा: समनुगृह्य शुच: स्रवन्त्य: ।
तास्ता व्रजप्रियकथा: कथयन्त्य आसन्
कृष्णाननेऽर्पितादृशो मृतकप्रतीका: ।।२१।।

tāḥ kṛishṇamātaram apatyam anupravishṭām /
tulyavyathās samanugṛihya śuchas sravantyaḥ/
tāstā vrajapriyakathāḥ kathayantya āsan
kṛishṇānanārpitadṛiśo mṛitakapratīkāḥ //21

The *gopīs*, holding back the mother of Kṛishṇa as she rushed after her child, and shedding tears sharing a common sorrow, stood narrating each one the story of the beloved one of Vraja, and appeared almost dead with their eyes fixed on Kṛishṇa's face. 21

PLATE XI

Folio No. 61 — 58·18/11 (National Museum, New Delhi)

हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासि नन्दव्रजकुमारिका: ।
चेरुर्हविष्यं भुंजाना: कात्यायन्यर्चनव्रतम् ।।१ ।।
आप्लुत्याम्भासि कालिन्द्या जलान्ते चोदितेऽरुणे ।
कृत्वा प्रतिकृतिं देवीमानर्चुर्नृप सैकतीम् ।।२।।
भगवांस्तदभिप्रेत्य कृष्णो योगेश्वरेश्वर: ।
वयस्यैरावृतस्तत्र गतस्तत्कर्मसिद्धये ।।८।।
तासां वासांस्युपादाय नीपमारुह्य सत्वर: ।
हसद्भि: प्रहसन् बालै: परिहासमुवाच ह ।।९।।
अत्रागत्यावला: कामं स्वं स्वं वास: प्रगृह्यताम् ।
सत्यं ब्रवाणि नो नर्म यद् यूयं व्रतकर्शिता: ।।१०।।
ततो जलाशयात् सर्वा दारिका: शीतवेपिता: ।
पाणिभ्यां योनिमाच्छाद्य प्रोत्तेरु: शीतकर्शिता: ।।१७।।
भगवानाह ता वीक्ष्य शुद्धभावप्रसादित: ।
स्कन्धे निधाय वासांसि प्रीत: प्रोवाच सस्मितम् ।।१८।।

यूयं विवस्त्रा यदपो धृतव्रता
    व्यगाहतैतत्तदु देवहेलनम् ।
बद्ध्वांजलिं मूर्ध्न्यपनुत्तयेंऽहसः
    कृत्वा नमोऽधो वसनं प्रगृह्यताम् ।।१९।।
इत्यच्युतेनाभिहिता व्रजाबला
    मत्वा विवस्त्राप्लवनं व्रतच्युतिम् ।
तत्पूर्तिकामास्तदशेषकर्मणां
    साक्षात्कृतं नेमुरवद्यमृग् यतः ।।२०।।

hemante prathame māsi nandavrajakumārikāḥ /
cherur havishyam bhuñjānāḥ kātyāyanyarchanavratam //1
āplutyāmbhāsi kālindyā jalānte choditeruṇe /
kṛitvā pratikṛitim devīm ānarchur nṛipa saikatīm //2
bhagavānstadabhipretya kṛishṇo yogeśvareśvaraḥ /
vayasyairāvṛitas tatra gatas tatkarmasiddhaye //8
tāsām vāsāmsyupādāya nīpamāruhya satvaraḥ /
hasadbhih prahasan bālaih parihāsam uvācha ha //9
atrāgatyābalāḥ kāmam svam svam vāsah pragṛihyatām /
satyam bravāṇi no narma yad yūyam vratakarśitāḥ //10
tato jalāśayāt sarvā dārikās śītavepitāḥ /
pāṇibhyām yonim āchchhādya protterus śītakarśitāḥ //17
bhagavān āha tā vīkshya śuddhabhāvaprasāditaḥ /
skandhe nidhāya vāsāmsi prītah provācha sasmitam //18
yūyam vivastrā yadapo dhṛitavratā
vyagāhataitat tadu devahelanam /
baddhvāñjalim mūrdhnyapanuttayemhasaḥ
kritvā namodho vasanam pragṛihyatām //19
ityachyutenābhihitā vrajābalā
matvā vivastrāplavanam vratachyutim /
tatpūrtikāmās tadaśeshakarmaṇām
sākshātkṛitam nemuravadyamṛig yataḥ //20

In the first month of winter, the maids of Nanda's Vraja performed the worship of goddess Kātyāyanī, subsisting only on the remains of sacrificial offerings. 1

After a dip in the waters of the Yamunā, early at sunrise, they prepared of sand an image of the form of the goddess and worshipped it. 2

Lord Kṛishṇa, the supreme amongst the Yogeśvaras knew this, and surrounded by his companions came there to give them success in their endeavour. 8

Carrying away clothes and hastily climbing a *nipa* tree, he spoke jokingly, laughing with the other boys as they laughed. 9

O Damsels! You can all come here freely and take each one your clothes. I say this in earnest and it is no joke, as you are all fatigued by austerity. 10

Then all those maids trembling and tormented by cold came out of the pool hiding their shame with both their hands. 17

The Lord looked at them pleased with the purity of their heart and placing the clothes on his shoulder spoke to them with a smile. 18

That you, wedded to austerities, had bathed nude is an insult to the gods. Join your hands in reverence over your head and bow low to expiate the sin and receive the clothes. 19

The maids of Vraja being thus told by Achyuta realised that bathing nude detracted from the merit of their worship and desirous of the complete fulfilment of their pious endeavours bowed to that remover of sins incarnate. 20

PLATE XII

Folio No. 65

49·48 (State Museum, Lucknow)

चतुर्विधं वहुगुणमन्नमादाय भाजनैः ।
अभिसस्रुः प्रियं सर्वाः समुद्रमिव निम्नगाः ।।१९।।
निषिध्यमानाः पतिभिर्भ्रातृभिर्बन्धुभिः सुतैः ।
भगवत्युत्तमश्लोके दीर्घश्रुतधृताशयाः ।।२०।।
यमुनोपवनेऽशोकनवपल्लवमण्डिते ।
विचरन्तं वृतं गोपैः साग्रजं ददृशुः स्त्रियः ।।२१।।
श्यामं हिरण्यपरिधिं वनमाल्यवर्हं-
    धातुप्रवालनटवेषमनुव्रतांसे ।
विन्यस्तहस्तमितरेण धुनानमब्जं
    कर्णोत्पलालककपोलमुखाब्जहासम् ।।२२।।
तत्रैका विधृता भर्त्रा भगवन्तं यथाश्रुतम् ।
हृदोपगूह्य विजहौ देहं कर्मानुवन्धनम् ।।३४।।

chaturvidham bahuguṇam annam ādaya bhājanaiḥ /
abhisasruḥ priyam sarvās samudram iva nimnagāḥ //19
nishidhyamānāḥ patibhir bhrātṛibhir bandhubhis sutaiḥ /
bhagavatyuttamaśloke dīrghaśrutadhritāśayāḥ //20
yamunopavaneśokanavapallavamaṇḍite /
vicharantam vṛitam gopais sāgrajam dadṛiśus striyaḥ //21
śyāmam hiraṇyaparidhim vanamālyabarha-
dhātupravālanaṭaveshamanuvratāmse /
vinyastahastam itereṇa dhunānam abjam
karṇotpalālakakapolamukhābjahāsam //22
tatraikā vidhṛitā bhartrā bhagavantam yathāśrutam /
hṛidopagūhya vijahau deham karmānubandhanam //34

Carrying four kinds of excellent food in vessels, those Brāhmaṇa women all approached their beloved (Kṛishṇa) like the rivers making for the ocean. 19

Though prevented by their husbands, brothers, relations and sons, they still approached the Lord of excellent qualities, their minds being drawn to him by all they had heard so long of him. 20

The damsels saw him in the company of his elder brother and the cowherds moving along on the banks of the Yamunā, lovely with tender shoots of *aśoka* groves. 21

Dark complexioned, with a golden garment on his waist, wearing a garland of flowers *(vanamālā)* decked with a peacock plume and tender shoots, painted gaily in mineral colours and almost looking an actor, resting one of his hands on the shoulder of a companion and waving a lotus with the other, he shone with a smile on his lotus-like face, a blue lily adorning his ear and his curly locks resting on his cheeks. 22

One of them, held back by her husband, mentally embraced the Lord as she had heard of him and shed her mortal coil which was the result of past actions. 34

PLATE XIII

X, 30 (Srimati Madhuri Desai Collection,
Bombay)

अप्येणपत्न्युपगतः प्रिययेह गात्रै-
    स्तन्वन् दृशां सखि सुनिर्वृतिमच्युतो वः ।
कान्ताङ्गसङ्गकुचकुङ्कुमरञ्जितायाः
    कुन्दस्रजः कुलपतेरिह वाति गन्धः ।।११।।
वाहुं प्रियांस उपधाय गृहीतपद्मो
    रामानुजस्तुलसिकालिकुलैर्मदान्धैः ।

अन्वीयमान इह वस्तरवः प्रणामं
किं वाभिनन्दति चरन् प्रणयावलोकैः ।।१२।।
पृच्छतेमा लता बाहूनप्याश्लिष्टा वनस्पतेः ।
नूनं तत्करजस्पृष्टा बिभ्रत्युत्पुलकान्यहो ।।१३ ।।
इत्युन्मत्तवचोगोप्यः कृष्णान्वेषणकातराः ।
लीला भगवतस्तास्ता ह्यनुचक्रुस्तदात्मिकाः ।।१४।।
धन्या अहो अमी आल्यो गोविन्दाङ्घ्र्यब्जरेणवः ।
यान् ब्रह्मेशो रमादेवी दधुर्मूर्ध्न्यघनुत्तये ।।२९।।

apyeṇapatnyupagataḥ priyayeha gātrais-
tanvan dṛiśām sakhi sunirvṛitim achyuto vaḥ /
kāntāṅgasaṅgakuchakumkumarañjitāyāḥ
kundasrajaḥ kulapateriha vāti gandhaḥ /11
bāhum priyāmsa upadhāya gṛihītapadmo
rāmānujastulasikālikulairmadāndhaiḥ /
anvīyamāna iha vastaravaḥ praṇāmam
kim vābhinandati charan praṇayāvalokaiḥ //12
pṛichchhatemā latā bāhūnapyāślishṭā vanaspateḥ /
nūnam tatkarajaspṛishṭā bibhratyutpulakānyaho //13
ityunmattavachogopyaḥ kṛishṇānveshaṇakātarāḥ /
līlā bhagavatastāstā hyanuchakrustadātmikāḥ //14
dhanyā aho amī ālyo govindāṅghryabjareṇavaḥ /
yān brahmeśo ramādevī dadhur mūrdhnyaghanuttaye //29

O Doe! Did Achyuta come here with his beloved immensely gladdening your eyes by his beautiful form? Here wafts the perfume of the jasmine garland of the Lord heightened by the fragrance of the *kumkuma* on the breasts of his beloved through the embrace of her limbs. 11

O trees! Did the younger brother of Balarāma with a hand resting on the shoulder of his beloved and holding a lotus and with an intoxicated swarm of bees on his *tulsī* garland closely following him, graciously receive your salute through his loving glances, as he moved on? 12

Enquire of these creepers also that entwine in embrace the boughs of trees here! How wonderful! They surely betray horripilation in their sprouts having been probably touched by his fingers. 13

Thus, the *gopīs*, talking incoherently and madly in search of Kṛishṇa imitated the several sports of the Lord with their mind entirely fixed on him. 14

O friends! blessed are these particles of dust on the feet of Govinda which were borne on the head of Brahmā, Śiva and goddess Lakshmī for destroying sins. 29

PLATE XIV

Folio No. 86

58·18/18 (National Museum, New Delhi)

हा नाथ रमण प्रेष्ठ क्वासि क्वासि महाभुज ।
दास्यास्ते कृपणाया मे सखे दर्शय सन्निधिम् ।।४०।।
अन्विच्छन्त्यो भगवतो मार्गं गोप्यो विदूरतः ।
ददृशुः प्रियविश्लेषमोहितां दुःखितां सखीम् ।।४१।।
तया कथितमाकर्ण्य मानप्राप्तिं च माधवात् ।
अवमानं च दौरात्म्याद् विस्मयं परमं ययुः ।।४२।।
ततो विशन् वनं चन्द्रज्योत्स्ना यावद् विभाव्यते ।
तमः प्रविष्टमालक्ष्य ततो निववृतुः स्त्रियः ।।४३।।
तन्मनस्कास्तदालापास्तद्विचेष्टास्तदात्मिकाः ।
तद्गुणानेव गायन्त्यो नात्मागाराणि सस्मरुः ।।४४।।
पुनः पुलिनमागत्य कालिन्द्याः कृष्णभावनाः ।
समवेता जगुः कृष्णं तदागमनकाङ्क्षिताः ।।४५।।
।। इति श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे दशमस्कंधे कृष्णाविश्लेषव्याकुल-
गोपीकृतकृष्णान्वेषणं नाम त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।।

hā nātha ramaṇa preshṭha kvāsi kvāsi mahābhuja /
dāsyās te kripaṇāyā me sakhe darśaya sannidhim //40
anvichchhantyo bhagavato mārgam gopyo vidūrataḥ /
dadṛiśuḥ priyaviśleshamohitām duhkhitām sakhīm //41
tayā kathitam ākarṇya mānaprāptim cha mādhavāt /
avamānam cha daurātmyād vismayam paramam yayuḥ //42
tato viśan vanam chandrajyotsnā yāvad vibhāvyate /
tamaḥ pravishṭam ālakshya tato nivavṛitus striyaḥ //43
tanmanaskās tadālāpās tadvicheshṭās tadātmikāḥ/
tadguṇāneva gāyantyo nātmāgārāṇi sasmaruḥ //44
punah pulinam āgatya kālindyāḥ kṛishṇabhāvanāḥ /
samavetā jaguh kṛishṇam tadāgamanakāṅkshitāḥ //45
|| iti śrīmadbhāgavate mahāpurāṇe daśamaskandhe
kṛishṇaviśleshavyākulagopīkṛitakṛishṇānveshaṇam
nāma trimśodhyāyaḥ ||

O Lord, O pleasant one! O my beloved! O powerful one! Where are you? Where are you? O my friend! O my friend! Show me your presence, to me, your slave, the forlorn. 40

Moving in quest of the Lord's trail the *gopīs* saw not far off their sorrowing friend who had fainted by the separation from her lover. 41

And they wondered as they listened and learnt how she received favour from Mādhava and by her own wickedness displeasure also at his hands. 42

Then they entered the forest and proceeded as far as the moon beams played, and where further on it was enveloped in darkness the damsels stopped. 43

Thinking only of him, talking only of him, acting only in terms of him and with themselves completely given up to him, singing only of his great qualities, they no longer remembered their homes. 44

Again, reaching the sands of the Yamunā, and all joined together, their minds contemplating on Kṛishṇa, they sang of him desirous of approaching him again. 45

Thus ends the 30th chapter of the 10th skandha in the Mahāpurāṇa Bhāgavata which is styled the search of Kṛishṇa by the *gopīs* afflicted by separation from Kṛishṇa.

PLATE XV

X, 32 (Srimati Madhuri Desai Collection,
Bombay)

शुक उवाच

इति गोप्यः प्रगायन्त्यः प्रलपन्त्यश्च चित्रधा ।
रुरुदुः सुस्वरं राजन् कृष्णदर्शनलालसाः ।।१।।
तासामाविरभूच्छौरिः स्मयमानमुखाम्बुजः ।
पीताम्बरधरः स्रग्वी साक्षान्मन्मथमन्मथः ।।२।।
तं विलोक्यागतं प्रेष्ठं प्रीत्युत्फुल्लदृशोऽबलाः ।
उत्तस्थुर्युगपत् सर्वास्तन्वः प्राणमिवागतम् ।।३।।
काचित् कराम्बुजं शौरेर्जगृहेऽञ्जलिना मुदा ।
काचिद् दधार तद्बाहुमंसे चन्दनरूषितम् ।।४।।
काचिदञ्जलिनागृह्णात्तन्वी तांबूलचर्वितम् ।
एका तदङ्घ्रिकमलं संतप्ता स्तनयोरधात् ।।५।।
एका भ्रुकुटिमाबध्य प्रेमसंरम्भविह्वला ।
घ्नतीवैक्षत् कटाक्षेपैः संदष्टदशनच्छदा ।।६।।
अपरानिमिषद्दृग्भ्यां जुषाणा तन्मुखाम्बुजम् ।
आपीतमपि नातृप्यत् सन्तस्तच्चरणं यथा ।।७।।

तं काचिन्नेत्ररन्ध्रेण हृदिकृत्य निमील्य च ।
पुलकाङ्ग्युपगुह्यास्ते योगीवानन्दसम्प्लुता ।।८।।
सर्वास्ताः केशवालोकपरमोत्सवनिर्वृताः ।
जहुर्विरहजं तापं प्राज्ञं प्राप्य यथा जनाः ।।९।।
एवं मदर्थोज्झितलोकवेद–
स्वानां हि वो मय्यनुवृत्तयेऽबलाः ।
मया परोक्षं भजता तिरोहितं
मासूयितुं मार्हथ तत् प्रियं प्रियाः ।।२१।।
न पारयेऽहं निरवद्यसंयुजां स्वसाधुकृत्यं विबुधायुषापि वः ।
या माभजन् दुर्जरगेहश्रृंखलाः संवृश्च्य तद् वः प्रतियातु साधुना ।।२२।।
।। इति श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे दशमस्कन्धे द्वात्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।।

Śuka uvācha

iti gopyaḥ pragāyantyaḥ pralapantyaścha chitradhā/
rurudus susvaram rājan kṛishṇadarśanalālasāḥ //1
tāsāmāvirabhūchchhauris smayamānamukhāmbujaḥ /
pitāmbaradharas sragvī sākshānmanmathamanmathaḥ //2
tam vilokyāgatam preshṭham prītyutphulladṛiśobalāḥ /
uttasthur yugapat sarvās tanvaḥ prāṇamivāgatam //3
kāchit karāmbujam śaurerjagṛiheñjalinā mudā /
kāchiddadhāra tadbāhum amse chandanarūshitam //4
kāchid añjalināgṛihṇāt tanvī tāmbūlacharvitam /
ekā tadanghṛikamalam santaptā stanayoradhāt //5
ekā bhṛikuṭim ābadhya premasamrambhavihvalā /
ghnatīvaikshat kaṭākshepaih sandashṭadaśanachchhadā //6
aparānimishaddṛigbhyām jushāṇā tanmukhāmbujam /
āpītamapi nātṛipyat santas tachcharaṇam yathā //7
tam kāchinnetrarandhreṇa hṛidikṛitya nimīlya cha /
pulakāṅgyupaguhyāste yogīvānandasamplutā //8
sarvāstāḥ keśavālokaparamotsavanirvṛitāḥ /
jahur virahajam tāpam prājñam prāpya yathā janāḥ //9
evam madarthojjhitalokavedasvānām hi vo mayyanuvṛittayebalāḥ /
mayā paroksham bhajatā tirohitam māsūyitum mārhatha tat priyam priyāḥ //21
na pārayeham niravadyasamyujām svasādhukṛityam vibudhāyushāpi vaḥ /
yā mābhajan durjaragehaśṛiṅkhalāḥ samvṛiśchya tad vaḥ pratiyātu sādhunā //22
|| iti śrīmadbhāgavate mahāpurāṇe daśamaskandhe dvātrimśodhyāyaḥ ||

Śrī Śuka spoke:

O King! Thus the *gopīs* singing and raving in different ways loudly lamented, desirous of seeing Kṛishṇa again. 1

To them appeared Śauri (Kṛishṇa) with his lotus-face wreathed in smiles, wearing yellow silken garments, decked with a flower garland, and appearing so charming as to distract the mind of Kāma himself. 2

Seeing him, their most beloved one, the damsels, with their eyes opened wide with affection, stood up all at once like lifeless bodies with the return of life. 3

One of them *(gopīs)* held joyously the lotus hand of Śauri with her joined palms, while another bore on her shoulder his arm tinged with sandal paste. 4

Another slender maiden received in her joined palms the *tāmbula* chewed by him, while another burning with passion bore his lotus feet on her breast. 5

Another knit her brows and bit her lips and she looked at him almost as if killing him, being agitated by amorous anger. 6

Another enjoyed for long with unwinking eyes his lotus feet, but was not satisfied any more than saints deeply contemplating on his lotus feet. 7

Another took him into her heart through the open gateway of her eyes and closing them, experienced horripilation as she embraced him mentally like a *yogi* immersed in bliss. 8

All of them, immensely satisfied by the grand feast of seeing Keśava again, shed their pain of separation like the common folk on seeing an enlightened one. 9

Oh my beloved ones! You who have for my sake renounced all worldly decorum and Vedic injunctions to wholeheartedly follow me! I had for making you follow me, made myself invisible and remained unseen, loving you, and you ought not to be angry with me on that account. 21

I cannot even through the fabulously long life of a celestial requite you whose union with me is immaculate and who have sought me breaking asunder the difficult fetters of domestic life; may your good deeds be repaid by your own goodness. 22

Thus ends the 32nd chapter of the 10th book of the Mahāpurāṇa Śrīmadbhāgavata.

PLATE XVI

(Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras)

जलकेलि

गोप्यः स्फुरत्पुरटकुण्डलकुन्तलत्विड्-
गण्डश्रिया सुधितहासनिरीक्षणेन ।
मानं दधत्य ऋषभस्य जगुः कृतानि
पुण्यानि तत्कररुहस्पर्शप्रमोदाः ।।२२।।
ताभिर्युतः श्रममपोहितुमंगसंग-
घृष्टस्रजः स कुचकुङ्कुमरंजितायाः ।
गन्धर्वपालिभिरनुद्रुत आविशद्वाः
श्रान्तो गजीभिरिभराडिव भिन्नसेतुः ।।२३।।
सोऽम्भस्थलं युवतिभिः परिषिच्यमानः
प्रेम्णेक्षितः प्रहसतीभिरितस्ततोङ्ग ।
वैमानिकैः कुसुमवर्षिभिरीड्यमानो
रेमे स्वयं स्वरतिरत्र गजेन्द्रलीलः ।२४।।
ततश्च कृष्णोपवने जलस्थल-
प्रसूनगन्धानिलजुष्टदिक्तटे ।
चचार भृङ्गप्रमदागणावृतो
यथा मदच्युद्द्विरदः करेणुभिः ।।२५।।

भागवत, दशम स्कंध, पूर्वाद्ध,
अध्याय ३३, श्लोक २२, २३, २४, २५.

gopyas sphuratpuraṭakuṇḍalakuntalatviḍ-
gaṇḍaśriyā sudhitahāsanirīkshaṇena /
mānam dadhatya ṛishabhasya jaguh kṛitāni
puṇyāni tatkararuhasparśapramodāḥ //22
tābhiryutas śramam apohitum aṅgasaṅga
ghṛishṭasrajas sa kuchakuṅkumarañjitāyāḥ /
gandharvapālibhiranudruta āviśad vās
śrānto gajībhiribharāḍ iva bhinnasetuḥ //23
sombhasthalam yuvatibhiḥ parishichyamānaḥ
premṇekshitaḥ prahasatībhiritastatonga /
vaimānikaiḥ kusumavarshibhirīḍyamāno
reme svayam svaratiratra gajendralīlaḥ //24
tataścha kṛishṇopavane jalasthala–
prasūnagandhānilajushṭadiktaṭe /
chachāra bhṛiṅgapramadāgaṇāvṛito
yathā madachyudviradaḥ kareṇubhiḥ //25

The *gopīs*, with their faces beautiful by the lustre of brilliant golden earrings, and curls of hair, and wreathed in smiles of sweetest nectar and joyous in their look, with pride in their hearts, sang the glorious deed of the Supreme One, thrilled by the touch of his finger nails. 22

Accompanied by them, with flower garlands crushed on account of contact with their limbs and illuminated by the red *kumkuma* dust from their bosoms, and followed by swarms of bumble-bees, he being fatigued, entered the water like a tusker followed by female elephants. 23

O my friend! with water splashed on him here and there by the damsels in the stream most lovingly as they laughed in such sport, he was adored by the celestials from their vehicles as they rained flowers on him; and he, delighting in his own supreme self, enjoyed himself like the king of elephants in sport. 24

Then Kṛishṇa, like an elephant in rut with his female elephants, moved in the garden laden with the breeze wafting the perfume of the flowers on the banks of the stream accompanied by the bevy of damsels. The swarms of bumble-bees followed the Lord like singing Gandharvas. 25

PLATE XVII

Folio No. 92 — 58.18/19 (National Museum, New Delhi)

कश्चिन्महानहिस्तस्मिन् विपिनेऽतिबुभुक्षितः ।
यदृच्छयाऽगतो नन्दं शयानमुरगोऽग्रसीत् ।।
स चुक्रोशाहिना ग्रस्तः कृष्णऽकृष्ण महानयम् ।
सर्पो मां ग्रसते तात प्रपन्नं परिमोचय ।।
तस्य चाक्रन्दितं श्रुत्वा गोपालाः सहसोत्थिताः
ग्रस्तं च दृष्ट्वा विभ्रान्ताः सर्पं विव्यधुरुल्मुखैः ।।
अलातैर्दह्यमानोऽपि नामुंचत् तमुरंगमः ।
तमस्पृशत् पदाभ्येत्य भगवान् सात्वतां पतिः ।।
स वै भगवतः श्रीमत्पादस्पर्शहताशुभः ।
भेजे सर्पवपुर्हित्वा रूपं विद्याधरार्चितम् ।।

kaschin mahān ahis tasmin vipinetibubhukshitaḥ /
yadṛichchhayāgato nandam śayānam uragograsīt //
sa chukrośāhinā grastaḥ kṛishṇa kṛishṇa mahān ayam /
sarpo mām grasate tāta prapannam parimochaya //
tasya chākranditam śrutvā gopālās sahasotthitā /
grastam cha dṛishṭvā vibhrāntās sarpam vivyadhurulmukhaiḥ //
alātairdahyamānopi nāmuñchat tam uraṅgamaḥ /
tam aspriśat padābhyetya bhagavān sātvatām patiḥ //
sa vai bhagavatas śrīmatpādasparśahatāśubhaḥ /
bheje sarpavapurhitvā rūpam vidyādharārchitam //

A huge snake, quite overcome by hunger, accidentally came to that forest and swallowed up Nanda who was lying asleep.

Nanda, caught by the snake, wailed, "O Kṛishṇa! Kṛishṇa! this huge snake is swallowing me, my child! rescue me that seeks your help."

Hearing his cry, the cowherd boys arose at once and, perplexed at seeing him so caught, struck the snake with burning torches.

Though burnt by the torches, the snake would not release him. The Lord, the foremost amongst the Sātvatas, approached and touched the reptile with his foot.

And lo! with all the demerits removed by the touch of the auspicious foot of the Lord it abandoned the serpentine body and assumed the form of a celestial adorable even to the Vidyādharas.

PLATE XVIII

Folio No. 105

(Sri Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta)

भगवानपि सम्प्राप्तो रामाक्रूरयुतो नृप ।
रथेन वायुवेगेन कालिन्दीमघनाशिनीम् ।।३८।।
तत्रोपस्पृश्य पानीयं पीत्वा मृष्टं मणिप्रभम् ।
वृक्षषण्डमुपव्रज्य सरामो रथमाविशत् ।।३९।।
अक्रूरस्तावुपामन्त्र्य निवेश्य च रथोपरि ।
कालिन्द्या ह्रदमागत्य स्नानं विधिवदाचरत् ।।४०।।
निमज्ज्य तस्मिन् सलिले जपन् ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
तावेव ददृशेऽक्रूरो रामकृष्णौ समन्वितौ ।।४१।।
तौ रथस्थौ कथमिह सुतावानकदुन्दुभेः ।
तर्हि स्वित् स्यन्दने न स्त इत्युन्मज्ज्य व्यचष्ट सः ।।४२।।
तत्रापि च यथापूर्वमासीनौ पुनरेव सः ।
न्यमज्ज्द् दर्शनं यन्मे मृषा किं सलिले तयोः ।।४३।।
भूयस्तत्रापि सोऽद्राक्षीत् स्तूयमानमहीश्वरम् ।
सिद्धचारणगन्धर्वैरसुरैर्नतकन्धरैः ।।४४।।
सहस्रशिरसं देवं सहस्रफणमौलिनम् ।
नीलाम्बरं विसश्वेतं श्रृङ्गैः श्वेतमिव स्थितम् ।।४५।।
तस्योत्सङ्गे घनश्यामं पीतकौशेयवाससम् ।
पुरुषं चतुर्भुजं शान्तं पद्मपत्रारुणेक्षणम् ।।४६।।
सुनन्दनन्दप्रमुखैः पार्षदैः सनकादिभिः ।
--------------------------- ।।५२।।
--------------------------- ।
स्तूयमानं पृथग्भावैर्वचोभिरमलात्मभिः ।।५४।।

bhagavānapi samprāpto rāmākrūrayuto nṛipa /
rathena vāyuvegena kālindīm aghanāśinīm //38
tatropaspṛiśya pānīyam pītvā mṛishṭam maṇiprabham /
vṛikshashaṇḍam upavrajya sarāmo ratham āviśat //39
akrūrastāvupāmantrya niveśya cha rathopari /
kālindyā hradam āgatya snānam vidhivad ācharat/40
nimajjya tasmin salile japan brahma sanātanam /
tāveva dadṛiśekrūro rāmakṛishṇau samanvitau //41
tau rathasthau kathamiha sutāvānakadundubheḥ /
tarhi svit syandane na sta ityunmajjya vyachashṭa saḥ //42
tatrāpi cha yathapūrvam āsīnau punareva saḥ /
nyamajjad darśanam yan me mṛishā kim salile tayoḥ //43
bhūyas tatrāpi sodrākshīt stūyamānam ahīśvaram /
siddhachāraṇagandharvair asurair natakandharaiḥ //44
sahasraśirasam devam sahasraphaṇamaulinam /
nīlāmbaram bisaśvetam śṛiṅgaiś śvetamiva sthitam //45
tasyotsaṅge ghanaśyāmam pītakauśeyavāsasam /
purusham chaturbhujam śāntam padmapatrāruṇekshaṇam //46
sunandanandapramukhaiḥ pārshadais sanakādibhiḥ /
.... //52
.... /
stūyamānam pṛithagbhāvair vachobhir amalātmabhiḥ //54

In the company of Balarāma and Akrūra the Lord reached Yamunā that destroys sins by a chariot swift like the wind. 38

There he washed his hands and feet and drank the sweet nectar-like water and sat in his chariot with Rāma in the shade of a grove of trees. 39

Akrūra seated them in the chariot and with their permission proceeded towards the Yamunā and had his bath. 40

As he uttered the praises of the Eternal Supreme Being after a dip in the water, Akrūra saw in the stream only those two, Rāma and Kṛishṇa. 41

"How are the sons of Ānakadundubhi, seated in the chariot, here in the stream? Then are they not in the chariot?" So he thought and came out of the stream. 42

There also he found them seated as before, and again he dipped, thinking that their appearance in the stream was just a fancy. 43

But again, even there, he saw the Lord of Serpents adorned by Siddhas, Chāraṇas, Gandharvas, Devas, Asuras, all with their heads bent. 44

Saw there the Lord with a thousand heads and with a thousand hoods, wearing a blue garment, white like the lotus stalk or the mountain top, and on his lap the Eternal Lord, dark like a cloud, clad in a yellow garment, four-armed, calm and with eyes red like a lotus petal. 45-46

Extolled by his followers, Nanda and Sunanda and by Sanaka and others immaculate in their mind in varied modes of praise. 52-54

PLATE XIX

Folio No. 112

58.18/22 (National Museum, New Delhi)

तयोर्विचरतोः स्वैरमादित्योऽस्तमुपेयिवान्।
कृष्णरामौ वृतौ गोपैः पुराच्छकटमीयतुः ।।१०१।।
अवनिक्ताङ्घ्रियुगलौ भुक्त्वा क्षीरोपसेचनम्।
ऊषतुस्तां सुखं रात्रि ज्ञात्वा कंसचिकीर्षितम् ।।१०२।।

tayorvicharatos svairam ādityostam upeyivān /
kṛishṇarāmau vṛitau gopaiḥ purāchchhakaṭam īyatuḥ //101
avaniktāṅghriyugalau bhuktvā kshīropasechanam /
ūshatustām sukham rātrim jñātvā kamsachikīrshitam //102

As they roamed at random the sun set; and Kṛishṇa and Rāma surrounded by cowherds went back from the town to their cart (stationed outside). 101

After washing their feet and taking food soaked in milk, they spent the night quite happily, aware of what Kaṁsa was planning to do. 102

PLATE XX

Folio No. 121

58.18/24 (National Museum, New Delhi)

तं सम्परेतं विचकर्ष भूमौ हरिर्यथेभं जगतो विपश्यतः।
हाहेति शब्दः सुमहांस्तदाभूदुदीरितः सर्वजनैर्नरेन्द्र ।।
तस्यानुजा भ्रातरोऽष्टौ कंकन्यग्रोधकादयः।
अभ्यधावन्नभिक्रुद्धा भ्रातुर्निर्वेशकारिणः ।।
तथातिरभसांस्तांस्तु संयत्तान् रोहिणीसुतः।
अहन् परिघमुद्यम्य पशूनिव मृगाधिपः ।।
नेदुर्दुन्दुभयो व्योम्नि ब्रह्मेशाद्या विभूतयः।
पुष्पैः किरन्तस्तं प्रीताः शशंसुर्ननृतुः स्त्रियः ।।११०।।

tam samparetam vichakarsha bhūmau harir yathebham jagato vipaśyataḥ /
hāheti śabdas sumahānstadābhūdudīritas sarvajanairnarendra //
tasyānujā bhrātaroshṭau kaṅkanyagrodhakādayaḥ /
abhyadhāvannabhikruddhā bhrāturnirveśakāriṇaḥ //

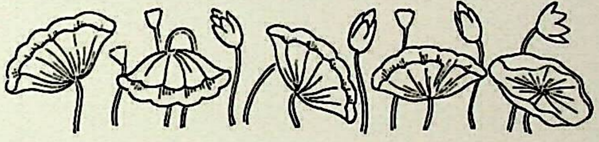
tathātirabhasānstāmstu samyattān rohiṇīsutaḥ /
ahan parigham udyamya paśūniva mṛigādhipaḥ //
nedur dundubhayo vyomni brahmeśādyā vibhūtayaḥ /
pushpaiḥ kirantas tam prītāś śaśamsur nanṛitus striyaḥ //

He pulled him to the ground almost dead, like a lion an elephant, as the whole assembly looked on. There was a great tumult that arose from all the people assembled.

Eight of his younger brothers Kanka, Nyagrodhaka and others made great haste towards him in great rage to avenge the death of their brother.

The son of Rohiṇī (Balarāma) raised his club and struck them as they rushed up, like a lion hitting animals.

Kettle-drums sounded in the sky and celestials like Brahmā, Śiva and others praised and showered flowers on him in joy as heavenly nymphs danced.



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2. HAVELL, *The Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 153.
3. WILLIAMS MONIER, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 137.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
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7. MUKERJI, *The Lord of the Autumn Moons*, p. 64.
8. ZIMMER, *Myths and Symbols of Indian Art*, p. 89.
9. GRIERSON, *Satsaiya of Bihari*, p. 8.
10. COOMARASWAMY, *Rajput Painting*, p. 27.
11. *Ibid.*, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Rajput Painting)*, p. 63.
12. One series is in the collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon (M. S. Randhawa, Plates 8-11—*Basohli Painting*). The other series was bought by Punjab Government from Tikka Inder Vijay Singh, a descendant of Mankot Rajas and is now in the Punjab Museum, Patiala.
13. KHANDALAVALA, *Kishangarh Painting*.
14. This information is based on Raja Baldev Singh of Guler's *Twarikh Rajgan Guler*, a record of family traditions of the Guler Rajas.
15. From information given by the Raja Rajinder Singh of Nadaun based on family traditions.
16. PURAN SINGH, *The Spirit Born People*, p. 159.
17. ARCHER, *Kangra Painting*, p. 4.
18. COOMARASWAMY, *Rajput Painting*, p. 4.
19. ZIMMER, *Myths and Symbols of Indian Art*, p. 81.
20. PINCOTT, *Prema-Sagara*, p. 82.
21. COOMARASWAMY, *Rajput Painting*, p. 24.
22. PINCOTT, *Prema-Sagara*, p. 105.

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